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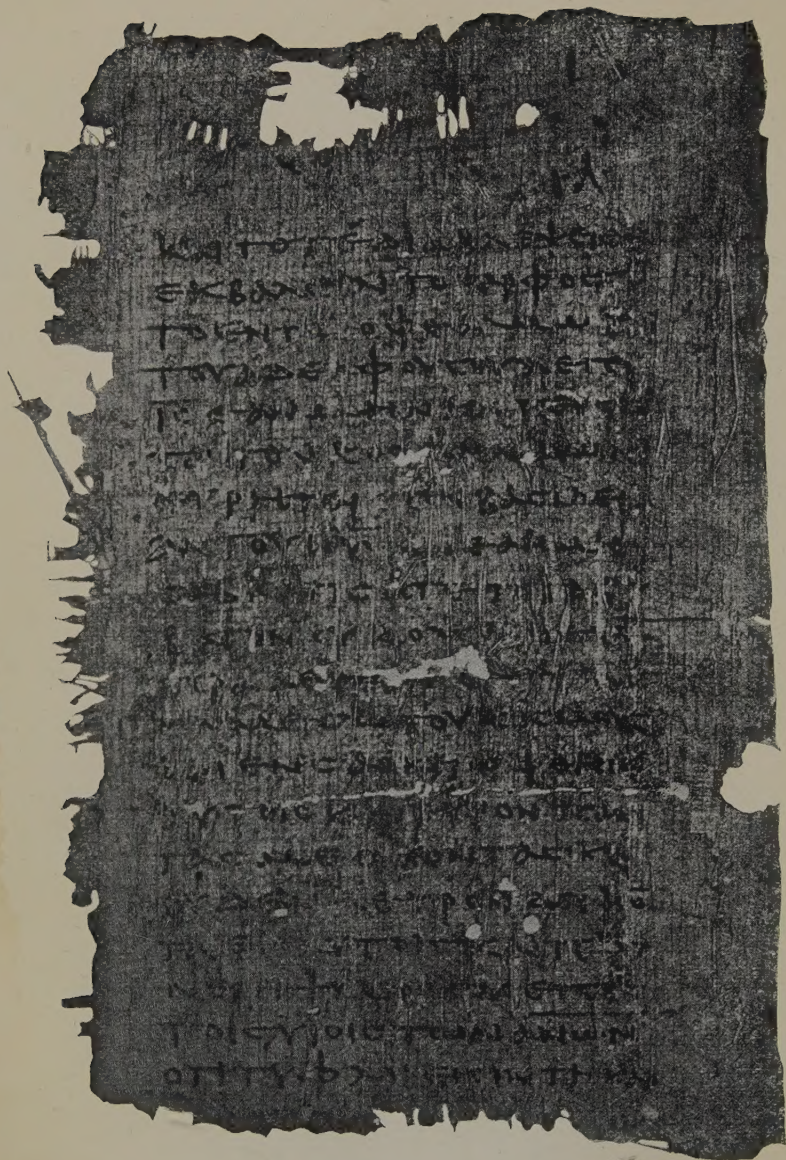
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PARALIPOMENA

REMAINS OF GOSPELS AND SAYINGS OF CHRIST

BY

REV. BERNHARD PICK, PH.D., D.D.

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CHICAGO

PREFACE

From the matter which is here presented, especially in the first part, we learn that numerous gospels circulated in the early Church. But we also know that toward the end of the second century, the same four gospels which we have still are found recognized in the Church, and are repeatedly quoted as the writings of the apostles, and disciples of the apostles, whose names they bear, by the three most ecclesiastical teachers — Irenæus, in Gaul, Clement in Alexandria, and Tertullian in Carthage. True, that gospels which were used by heretical parties, were sometimes appealed to also by orthodox teachers, but the four were, at that time, and from that time downward, considered as the peculiarly trustworthy foundation on which the Christian faith rested. The reasons assigned by Irenæus in his work against heresies, why there are exactly four gospels, neither more nor less, are these: “the gospel is the pillar of the Church; the church is spread over the whole world; the world has four quarters; therefore it is fitting there should also be four gospels. Again, the gospel is the divine breath, or wind of life for men; there are four chief winds, therefore four gospels.” He builds another argument on the fourfold appear-

ance of the cherubim. "The cherubim," he says, "are fourfold, and their faces are images of the activity of the Son of God. The first beast was like a lion, signifying his commanding and kingly dignity; the second like a calf, signifying his priestly office; the third like a man, denoting his incarnation; the fourth like an eagle, denoting the Holy Spirit, flying over the church. Like these are the gospels. John, who begins with the Godhead and descent from the Father, is the lion; Luke, who begins with the priesthood and sacrifice of Zacharias, is the calf; Matthew, who begins with his human genealogy, the man; Mark, the eagle, who commences with the announcement of the prophetic spirit — 'The beginning of the gospel as it is written by Isaiah the prophet' " (III, 9-11).

But there can be no doubt that besides the canonical gospels others were also current, which contained an outline of the doctrine of Christianity. This can be inferred from Luke's prologue to his gospel (I, 1-4), and more especially from Origen's comment thereon. Says he: "The phrase 'have taken in hand' implies a tacit accusation of those who rushed hastily to write gospels without the grace of the Holy Spirit. Matthew and Mark and Luke and John did not 'take in hand' to write their gospels, but wrote them being full of the Holy Spirit. . . . The Church has four gospels, heresies very many, of which one is entitled 'according to the Egyptians,' another 'according to the twelve Apostles.' . . . Four gospels only

are approved, out of which we must bring forth points of teaching under the person of our Lord and Saviour. There is I know a gospel which is called 'according to Thomas,' and one 'according to Matthias'; and there are many others which we read, lest we should seem to be unacquainted with any point for the sake of those who think they possess some valuable knowledge if they are acquainted with them. But in all these we approve nothing else but that which the Church approves, that is four gospels only as proper to be received."

Now, some of the false gospels were probably only a true gospel altered to suit the views of a particular man or sect or party. We know that Marcion's gospel was an altered Luke, Basilides may perhaps have made Matthew his basis, and Apelles is said to have made similar use of John. Some of the gospels, themselves originally apocryphal, were certainly reissued with changes according to the ideas of successive editors. The numerous extant gospels of the Nativity are only recensions or editions of the Protevangel or "Gospel of James." There are several of those ancient gospels of which we know only the names, and it is supposed that many of them are the same book under different names. We know something of the Gospel of the Nazarenes and of the Gospel of the Ebionites, and we have reason to believe that those, as well as of the Gospels of Bartholomew, of Cerinthus, and of the Twelve Apostles were recensions of the gospel of the Hebrews.

Again it is probable that several of the so-called gospels were compilations from the canonical gospels. Tatian's Diatessaron was an avowed harmony, and it did not stand alone. The book which Serapion found in circulation in Rhossus, professing to be the Gospel of Peter, seems to have been a harmony of the gospel narratives, but with Docetic additions. Jerome, followed by the decree of Gelasius, condemns the codices of Hesychius and Lucian, which seem to have been some kind of harmony, with additions.

There can be no doubt that many facts about the Lord and sayings of Him which we meet with in patristic literature, were handed down by tradition, and if we had the lost five books of Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, in Asia Minor, which he is said to have written about the year 140 A. D., we should probably know more. But except the title and a few scraps in Irenæus and Eusebius, and in writers long after their time, we really know nothing about the books of this old chronicler. The title of his treatise was "An Exposition (or Expositions) of the Oracles of the Lord"; and it seems to have been a collection of our Lord's most important sayings and doings, with Papias's own commentary, and certain additions to corroborate the commentary—these additions being drawn from what Papias had collected as unwritten reminiscences. The importance of the book lies in the fact that Papias, like Polycarp, was a link between the apostolic age and that of Irenæus.

The first words of Papias (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* III, 39, 3ff.) are these: "I shall not scruple also to set down for you, along with my interpretations what things I well learned from the elders, and well recorded (or remembered), being well assured as of the truth concerning them. For I was not in the habit of taking delight, like the many, in those having much to say, but in those teaching the truth; nor in those recalling the precepts of strangers, but in those recalling the things given by the Lord to faith, and proceeding from the truth itself. And if anywhere there chanced also to come one who had been in company with the elders, I inquired into the words of the elders: what Andrew or what Peter said, or what Philip or what Thomas (said), or James; or what John or Matthew or some other one of the disciples of the Lord (said): which things Aristion and John the elder say. For I did not account myself so much indebted to the things which come from books as to those which come from the loving and abiding voice."

There can be no reasonable doubt that from a natural interpretation of his words we learn that at the time when Papias wrote Aristion and the presbyter John were living and adding to his stock of reminiscences. At a later period in his narrative Eusebius tells us that Papias had received a wonderful narrative from the daughters of Philip the apostle, that in their time a dead woman had been raised, namely, the mother of Manaimus

(Manaen, Acts XIII, 1), also that Justus Barsabas (Acts I, 23) drank a deadly thing, and it did not hurt him (see Mark XVI, 18).

Papias's work contained not only notices of the apostles about the Lord, but also much concerning the apostles. But when we compare the canonical with the extra-canonical gospels, it must be acknowledged that the Church of the second century acted in a very judicious manner in the selection of that which was appropriate for the divine service and for reading. The Church on the whole showed a good sense for the genuine and original. But when we meet in the extra-canonical gospels with traits which are homogeneous to the Christ-picture of the gospels, let us not disregard them, but rather look upon them, though cautiously, as an enrichment of the same.

The reader will now understand why we have prepared this collection. For in a certain sense we follow the injunction of Jesus: "Gather up the fragments that remain, that nothing be lost." (John VI, 12.) The fragments here presented are of sufficient interest, and their study no mere literary curiosity nor a barren study. For as the late Bishop Westcott said: "There are some fragments which appear to contain true and original traits of the Lord's teaching, and as such are invested with the greatest interest."

We turn now to that part of our work which contains the extra-canonical gospel sayings. There is no doubt that throughout the first century, and

even in the early second century, there was a living tradition of the life of Jesus, which, apart from our gospels, continued to hand down and to circulate utterances of Jesus which are not contained in our canonical gospels. These extra-canonical sayings of Jesus are very numerous.

The first who called attention to such extra-canonical sayings of Jesus was the French scholar Cotelier (d. 1686), the learned editor of the Apostolic Fathers and other patristic writings. He was followed by the Oxford theologian Grabe (d. 1711), and by scholars like Fabricius (d. 1736), Lardner (d. 1768), and others.

In 1776 Körner published his *De sermonibus Christi agraphois*, and since that time the term "agrapha" has been applied by way of convenience, to extra-canonical sayings of Jesus. The agrapha-collection reached its climax in the work of Alfred Resch, *Agrapha. Ausserkanonische Evangelienfragmente* (in *Texte und Untersuchungen* V, 4, 1889). In this monumental work Resch collected a vast material from sources not so easily accessible to those who live not in the neighborhood of large theological libraries. Following Resch, Nestle published in 1896 a collection of Agrapha in his *Novi Testamenti Graeci Supplementum*, in which he gives 27 Agrapha, which he considers as genuine and calls them "Dicta Salvatoris Agrapha." In the same year, Ropes published his *Die Sprüche Jesu, eine Kritische Bearbeitung des von A. Resch gesammelten Materials* (forming part of vol. XIV

of the texts published by von Gebhardt and Harnack). The result of Ropes' critique is that of the 154 Agrapha which he treats, only ten have any real value. This was before the discovery and publication of the Oxyrhynchus Logia by Grenfell and Hunt in 1897. The result of this publication was a new agrapha-literature, as may be seen from the bibliography which comprises works in the French, German, Dutch, Italian and English languages. The first—as far as we are aware—to publish a collection of Agrapha was the English scholar B. Jackson, author of twenty-five Agrapha, London, 1900, which includes besides twenty-two older sayings, three of the Oxyrhynchus Logia. In 1901 (2d ed. 1905) Preuschen published his *Antilegomena*, in which he gives besides the Logia more than forty Agrapha.

In 1904 Klostermann issued a collection of eighty-eight Agrapha (forming Part II of the *Kleine Texte für theologische Vorlesungen und Uebungen*, edited by Lietzmann). Both Preuschen and Klostermann only give the text. The work of Resch being out of print for some time, a new revised and enlarged edition was published in 1906.

With these works before us we undertook the present for English readers. The number of "sayings" is much larger, than in any of those mentioned before. The reader will have noticed that there is no agreement among scholars as to the number of Agrapha. The opinion can only be subjective. What the one adopts the other re-

jects, and on this account the reader will find here more than in any other work. As to the mode of the quotations we adopted the alphabetical order of authors and authorities from which a saying has been taken.

For the benefit of the student we give the Kerygma or Preaching of Peter complete, distinguishing those parts which belong not to our subject by putting them within []. For the same reason we added in the appendix the Apocalypse of Peter, and thus the reader has the Gospel, Kerygma and Apocalypse of Peter in one volume. The student who wishes to compare the Greek text, will find it in a convenient form in *Apocrypha I* (1903), edited by Klostermann and forming part of the Lietzmann series published for theological seminaries.

That I have included a few sayings from the Koran and Muhammedan writers as well as from the Talmud, will not surprise, because these sayings rest mainly on Christian tradition.

As concerns the bibliography we doubt whether the student will find it in such a complete manner in any other work.

To sum up: the pardonable hyperbole of the conclusion of St. John's Gospel, whether his own postscript or the addition of a nearly contemporary editor, suggests the consciousness of the end of the first century that the known material was not exhausted in known writings.

B. P.

NEWARK, N. J., February, 1908.

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PARALIPOMENA

I. THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THE HEBREWS

I. *Patristic Notices.*

- a. (The Ebionites) use only the gospel of Matthew and reject the Apostle Paul, calling him an apostate from the law.

Irenæus I, 26, 2.

- b. These (the Ebionites) imagine that they must reject all epistles of Paul, since they call him an apostate from the law; by using only the gospel of the Hebrews, they have little regard for the others.

Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* III, 27, 4.

- c. Writings of Symmachus¹ are still current in which he seems to support the doctrine laid down (by the Ebionites) by following the gospel of Matthew.

Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* VI. 17.

- d. With these (the writings received by the Church) some also numbered the gospel of the Hebrews, which was especially popular with Jews converted to Christ.

¹ On Symmachus, who is also known as translator of the Old Test. into Greek, see Pick art. in McClintock and Strong's Cyclop. s. v.

Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* III, 25, 5.

- e. He (Hegesippus) mentions also some things from the gospel of the Hebrews, from the Syriac (gospel), and from the Hebrew.

Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* IV, 22, 8.

- f. The gospel of the Hebrews has 2,200 stichoi.¹
Nicephorus *Stichometra* (see Preuschen, *Anal-
ecta* (1893), p. 157, 49).

2. *Remains.*

1. (Matt. II, 5) "In Bethlehem of Judæa." This is a clerical error. For I believe that the evangelist originally wrote as it is in the Hebrew text (i. e., Micah V, 1) "Judah," not "Judæa."

Hieronymus *in Matt.* II, 5.

2. (Matt. II, 15, 23). Now this Hebrew (viz. Matthew) is preserved to this day in the library at Cæsarea, which Pamphilus the Martyr² so diligently collated. I also obtained permission of the Nazarenes of Beræa in Syria, who use this volume, to make a copy of it. In which it is to be observed that, throughout, the evangelist when quoting the witness of the Old Testament, either in his own person or in that of the Lord and Saviour, does not follow the authority of the Seventy translators, but the Hebrew Scriptures, from which he quotes these two sayings: "Cut of Egypt have I called my

¹ Our canonical gospel of Matthew has 2,500 stichoi.

² Died 307 A. D.

Son" (II, 15),¹ and, "hence he shall be called a Nazarene." (II, 23).²

Hieronymus, *De viris inlustribus* III
(ed. Bernoulli (1895), p. 8 sq.

3. (Matt. III, 13). In the Gospel of the Hebrews which is written in the Syro-Chaldaic tongue but in Hebrew characters, which the Nazarenes make use of at this day, and which is also called the "Gospel of the Apostles," or as many think, "that of Matthew," and which is in the library of Cæsarea, the following narrative is given: "Behold, the mother of the Lord and His brethren said unto Him, John the Baptist baptizeth for the remission of sins; let us go and be baptized of him. But He said: "What have I committed, that I should be baptized of him, unless it be that in saying this I am in ignorance."

Hieronymus, *Contra Pelagium* III, 2.

4. Matt. III, 16 sq.). But in the gospel which is written in Hebrew and which the Nazarenes read, "the whole fountain of the Holy Spirit shall descend upon Him." And the Lord is spirit, and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. And in the gospel referred to above I find this written: "And it came to

¹ This is quoted literally from the Hebrew text, that of the Seventy (LXX) has, "out of Egypt have I called my children," τὰ τέκνα. This made the saying of Hosea (XI. 2) no prophecy of our Lord; consequently he who inserted this reference can have known only the Hebrew text, and not the Greek version.

² Nazarene = *netser*, not *nasir*.

pass, as the Lord ascended from the water, the whole fountain of the Holy Spirit descended upon Him and rested upon Him, and said to Him, 'My son, in all the prophets I expected thee that Thou mightest come and that I might rest upon thee. Thou art my rest, thou art my firstborn Son, who reignest in eternity.' "

Hieronymus in *Jes.* XI, 2.

5. (Matt. IV, 1, 8). If any should lend credence to the Gospel according to the Hebrews, where the Saviour Himself says: "My mother, the Holy Spirit, took me just now by one of my hairs and carried me off to the great Mount Tabor," he will have difficulty of explaining how the Holy Spirit can be the mother of Christ.

Origen, *Comment on John* II, 12; in *Homil. on Jerem.* XV, 4 he says: if any one receives the word "My mother, the Holy Spirit, took me just now and carried me off to the great Mount Tabor," he could see his mother; see also Hieronymus in *Isa.* XI, 9 sq.; in *Ezek.* XVI, 13; in *Mic.* VII, 7. In his commentary on *Isa.* XI, 9, Jerome remarks that no one should be offended, because in Hebrew the word "Spirit" (i. e., 'ruach') is of feminine gender, and in our language (i. e., Latin), and in the Greek neuter; for in the Godhead there is no gender.—

Whether the "great mount" refers to the Mount of Temptation or Transfiguration is

not easy to determine. Ancient tradition claims Tabor for both. As the Transfiguration was witnessed by some of the disciples, it was not necessary to tell this, and we therefore infer that the mount referred here is probably that of the Temptation.

6. (Matt. IV, 5). The Jewish gospel has not "into the Holy City," but "to Jerusalem."

Cod. ev. 566; comp. Tischendorf, *Notitia Cod. Sinait.* p. 58.

7. (Matt. VI, 11) In the gospel of the Hebrews for the "supersubstantial bread" I found "Mahar" which signifies "to-morrow's," so that the meaning would be: "give us this day the bread for the morrow."

Hieronymus in *Matt.* VI, 11, see also in Ps. CXXXV. (*Anecdota Maredsolana* III, 2, 202.)

Baring-Gould (*Lost and Hostile Gospels*, p. 138) remarks: "It is curious that the Protestant Reformers, shrinking from translating the word *ἐπιούσιον* according to its apparently legitimate rendering, lest they should give color to the Catholic idea of the daily bread of the Christian soul being the Eucharist, should have adopted a rendering more in accordance with an apocryphal idea than with a canonical gospel."

8. (Matt. XII, 9-13). In the gospel which the Nazarenes and Ebionites use, and which I recently translated from the Hebrew into Greek

(by most it is designated as the original (authenticum) Matthew), we read that the man with the withered hand, was a mason, who asked for help with these words: "I was a mason, working for my bread with my hands. I pray Thee, Jesus, restore me to soundness, that I eat not my bread in disgrace."

Hieronymus *in Matt.* XII, 13.

9. (Matt. XVI, 17). For Barjona the Jewish gospel reads "Son of John."

Cod. evang. 566 (Petrop, Muralt. 54 saec. IX; Tischendorf, *Notitia cod. Sinait.* p. 58.)

10. (Matt. XVIII, 21, 22). In the same volume (i. e., in the gospel of the Hebrews) we read: "If thy brother has sinned in word against thee, and has made satisfaction, forgive him unto seven times a day. Simon, His disciple, said unto Him: "Until seven times?" The Lord answered saying, "Verily I say unto thee, until seventy times seven! For even in the prophets the word of sin is found after they have been anointed with the holy Spirit."

Hieronymus, *contra Pelagium* III, 2; comp. Cod. evang. 566 (Tischendorf, l. c.) where we also read: The Jewish (gospel) has yet "seventy times seven." For even in the prophets the word of sin was found after they have been anointed with the holy Spirit.

11. (Matt. XIX, 16 sq.). It is written in a cer-

tain gospel, which is styled, "according to the Hebrews," if any one pleases to receive it, not as an authority, but as an illustration of the subject before us: Another rich man said to Him: "Master, what good thing shall I do to live?" He said to him: "O man, fulfil the law and the prophets." He replied: "I have fulfilled." He said to him: "Go, sell all that thou possesseth, and distribute to the poor, and come, follow me." But the rich man began to scratch his head, and it did not please him. And the Lord said to him: "How sayest thou, I have fulfilled the law and the prophets, since it is written in the law: Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself; and lo! many of thy brethren, sons of Abraham, are clothed in filth, dying of hunger, and thy house is full of many goods, and nothing at all goes out of it to them." And returning to Simon, His disciple, who was sitting by Him, he said: "Simon, son of Jonas, it is easier for a camel to enter the eye of a needle than for a rich man (to enter) into the kingdom of heaven."

Origen *in Matt.* XV, 14 (according to the Latin translation, the Greek text has been lost).

Baring-Gould (p. 141) makes the following remark: "The comparison of these two accounts (viz.: that of the Gospel of the Hebrews and of St. Matthew XIX, 16-24) is

not favorable to that in the Canonical Gospel. It is difficult to understand how a Jew could have asked, as did the rich young man, what commandments he ought to keep in order that he might enter into life. The Decalogue was known by heart by every Jew. Moreover, the narrative in the lost gospel is more connected than in the Canonical Gospel. The reproach made by our Lord is admirably calculated to bring home to the rich man's conscience the truth, that, though professing to observe the letter of the law, he was far from practising its spirit; and this leads us quite naturally to the declaration of the difficulty of a rich man obtaining salvation, or rather to our Lord's repeating a proverb probably common at the time in the East. And lastly, in the proverb addressed aside to Peter, instead of to the rich young man, that air of harshness which our Lord's words bear in the Canonical Gospel, as spoken to the young man in his sorrow, entirely disappears. The proverb is uttered, not in stern rebuke, but as the expression of sad disappointment when the rich man has retired."

12. (Matt. XXI, 9). Matthew who wrote a gospel in Hebrew offer "Osanna Barrama," i. e., Hosanna in the highest.

Hieronymus, *Epist.* XX, 5 ad Damasum.

13. (Matt. XXIII, 35). In the Gospel which the

Nazarenes use we find it written for Son of Barachias "Son of Jehoiada."

Hieronymus in *Matt.* XXIII, 35; in a scholion in Matthaei, *Evang. Matth.* Riga 1788, p. 376, we read: "He calls Zacharias the son of Jodaë, for he had two names.

Baring-Gould (1. c., p. 138) remarks: "Now the Zacharias to whom our Lord referred was Zechariah, son of Jehoiada, and not of Barachias, who was stoned 'in the court of the house of the Lord' by order of Joash (2 Chron. XXIV, 20). Zacharias, son of Barachias, was not killed till long after the death of our Lord. He was massacred by the zealots inside the Temple, shortly before the siege, i. e., about A. D. 69. Either, then, the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew was not written till after the siege of Jerusalem, and so this anachronism passed into it, or the error is due to a copyist, who, having heard of the murder of Zacharias son of Barachias, but who knew nothing of the Zacharias mentioned in Chronicles, corrected the Jehoiada of the original into Barachias, thinking that thereby he was rectifying a mistake."

Zahn thinks that the scholion mentioned above has solved the difficulty by giving both names Barachias and Jodaë (Jodane) to the father of Zechariah, who was killed.

14. (Matt. XXV, 14 sqq.). Since the gospel which has come down to us in Hebrew language pronounces not the threat against him who hid the money, but who spent it in riotous living — (the master) had three servants; one spent the substance of the master with harlots and with female flutists; the second multiplied it; the third hid the talent; then the one received an addition, the second was blamed, and the third was cast into prison. I imagine that according to Matthew the threat which was spoken after the word addressed to the idle one, does not concern him, but by way of epanalepsis the one mentioned before, who had eaten and drunk with the drunkard.
- Eusebius, Theophania (Mai, "Nova Patrum bibliotheca" IV, 1 (1847), p. 155).
15. (Matt. XXVI, 74). The Hebrew: "and he denied and swore and cursed."
- Cod. evang. 566 (Tischendorf l. c.).
16. (Matt. XXVII, 16 sq.). In the so-called gospel of the Hebrews, Barrabas is interpreted by "son of their teacher," who was condemned for sedition and murder.

Hieronymus in *Matt.* XXVII, 16; Origen, *scholion* in Gallandi XIV app., p. 81 reads: It seems that the name of the robber was a patronymic, since it is translated "son of the teacher." The com-

posed name Barraban means "son of our teacher."

17. (Matt. XXVII, 51). In the Gospel often mentioned we read "that the very great lintel of the Temple broke and fell into pieces."

Hieronymus *in Matt.* XXVII, 51; comp. also his epistle, to Hedibia (epist. CXX, 8); Baring-Gould (l. c., p. 152) says: "that this tradition may be true is not unlikely. The rocks were rent, and the earth quaked, and it is probable enough that the Temple was so shaken that the great lintel stone fell."

18. (Matt. XXVII, 62 sqq.; comp. 1 Cor. XV, 7). The Gospel also entitled "according to the Hebrews" which I lately translated into Greek and Latin, and which Origen often quotes, contains the following narrative after the Resurrection: "Now the Lord when He had given the cloth to the servant of the priest, went to James and appeared to him." For James had taken an oath that he would not eat bread from that hour on which he had drunk the cup of the Lord, till he saw Him risen from the dead. Again a little afterward the Lord says: "Bring a table and bread," and forthwith it is added: "He took bread and blessed and brake and gave to James the Just and said to him: 'My brother, eat thy bread, for the Son of Man is risen from them that sleep.'"

Hieronimus, *De viris illustribus* 2.

"This touching incident," says Baring-Gould (l. c., p. 149), "is quite in keeping with what we know about St. James, the Lord's brother. James the Just, according to Hegesippus (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* II, 23) 'neither drank wine nor fermented liquors and abstained from animal food'; and though the account of Hegesippus is manifestly fabulous in some of its details, still there is no reason to doubt that James belonged to the ascetic school among the Jews. . . . The oath to abstain from food till a certain event was accomplished was not unusual (*Acts XXIII*, 14). . . . The story of this appearance found its way into the writings of St. Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Eccl. Francorum* I, 21), who no doubt drew it from St. Jerome; and thence it passed into the 'Legenda Aurea' of Jacques de Voragine."

19. (*Matt.* XXVII, 62 sqq., XXVIII, 17). For I know and believe that after His resurrection He lived in the flesh. For when the Lord came to Peter and to the Apostles, He said to them: "Lay hold, handle Me, and see that I am not an incorporeal spirit." And immediately they touched Him, and believed, being both convinced by His flesh and spirit.

Ignatius *ad Smyrn.* III, 1, 2.

Ignatius, who cites these words, does not say whence he drew them; but Hieronymus (*De*

viris inlustribus 16) informs us that they were taken from the Gospel of the Hebrews. In his commentary on Isaiah XVIII (preface), Jerome informs us that according to the gospel which the Nazarenes call that of the Hebrews, the apostles believed Jesus to be "incorporale daemonium." Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* III, 36, 11) remarks that he knows not whence the words of Ignatius are taken. Origen (*De princ.* I prooem. 8) speaks of a passage in that book which is called the "Doctrine of Peter," where the Saviour said to His disciples: "I am not an incorporeal demon (daemonium incorporeum)" and adds that anyone who quotes this is to be replied first that this writing belongs not to those received by the Church; then it is to be shown that it was written neither by Peter, nor by any one who was inspired by the Spirit of God.

20. (John VII, 53, VIII, 11). He (Papias) gives a history of a woman who had been accused of many sins before the Lord, which is also contained in the gospel of the Hebrews.

Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* III, 39, 17.

21. (Matt. V, 21 sqq? XVIII, 6 sqq., 31?). In the gospel of the Hebrews which the Nazarenes are in the habit to read it belongs to the greatest sins when "one afflicts the spirit of his brother."

Hieronymus in *Ezech.* XVIII, 7.

22. As we also read in the Hebrew gospel, where

the Lord says to His disciples: "Be never glad unless ye are in charity with your brother."

Hieronymus in *Ephes.* V, 4.

23. The cause therefore of the divisions of souls that come to pass in houses (Christ) Himself taught as we have found in a place in the Gospel existing among the Jews in the Hebrew language, in which it is said: "I will choose for myself the best which my Father in heaven hath given me."

Eusebius, *Theophania* IV, 12.

24. As it is also written in the gospel of the Hebrews "He who wonders shall reign, and he that reigns shall rest."

Clem. Alex. *Stromata* II, 9, 45. In another passage *Stromata* V, 14, 96 Clement says: "With these words (Plato, *Timæus*, p. 90) agrees the sentence: 'He that seeks will not rest till he finds, and when he finds, he will wonder, and wondering he shall reign, and reigning he shall rest.'"

II. THE GOSPEL OF THE EBIONITES.

1. *Patristic Notices.*

What we know of the Ebionites is from Epiphanius. He tells us: And they only accept the gospel of Matthew. . . This alone

they use, as do also the followers of Cerinthus and Merinthus. They call it the gospel of the Hebrews. To tell the truth, Matthew wrote only in Hebrew and in Hebrew letters the narrative and preaching of the Gospel in the New Testament. Others again have asserted that the gospel of John is kept in a Hebrew translation in the treasuries of the Jews — namely at Tiberias — and that it is hidden there as some converts from Judaism have told us accurately. Even the book of the Acts of the Apostles translated from the Greek into the Hebrew, is said to be kept there in the treasuries, so that the Jews, who told us this and read it came in this way to the belief on Christ.

Epiphanius, *Hæres.* XXX, 3.

In another passage Epiphanius also states (XXX, 6): And when 'among these (i. e., among the books hidden at Tiberias), as has been said, he had read the Gospel of John translated from the Greek into Hebrew, he also found the Acts of the Apostles. And not this alone, but also the gospel of Matthew, which was originally Hebrew. . . .

And (XXX, 13): in the Gospel of Matthew used by them — not in the perfect, but in a mutilated and castrated form — they call it gospel of the Hebrews — it is recorded: "and there was a man," etc. (see below under 4).

2. *Remains.*

1. (Matt. III, 1 sq.). a. The beginning of their gospel reads thus: "It came to pass in the days of Herod, King of Judæa, that John came and baptized with the baptism of repentance in the river Jordan; he is said to be from the tribe of Aaron and a son of Zacharias the priest and of Elizabeth, and all went out to him."

Epiphanius, *Hæres.* XXX, 13.

- b. They cut off the genealogies in Matthew and commence as stated above, with the words: "It came to pass in the days of Herod, King of Judæa under the high priest Caiaphas, that a man came named John and baptized with the baptism of repentance in the river Jordan," etc.

Epiphanius, *Hæres.* XXX, 14.

2. (Matt. III, 3 sqq.). And it came to pass when John baptized, that the Pharisees came to him and were baptized, and all Jerusalem also. He had a garment of camels' hair, and a leathern girdle about his loins. And his meat was wild honey, which tasted like manna, formed like cakes of oil.

Epiphanius, *Hæres.* XXX, 13.

3. (Matt. III, 13 sq.). And after many other words it goes on: "The people having been baptized, Jesus came also, and was baptized by John. And as he came out of the water, the heavens opened, and he saw the Holy Spirit descending under the form of a dove, and en-

tering into him. And a voice was heard from heaven: 'Thou art my beloved Son, and in thee am I well pleased.' And again: 'This day have I begotten thee.' And suddenly shone a great light in that place. And John seeing him, said, Who art thou, Lord? Then a voice was heard from heaven: 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.' Thereat John fell at his feet and said: I pray thee, Lord, baptize me. But he would not, saying, 'Suffer it, for so it behoveth that all should be accomplished.'"

Epiphanius, *Hæres.* XXX, 13 (following I a).

4. (Comp. Luke III, 23). And there was a man named Jesus, and he was about thirty years old; he has chosen us.

Epiphanius, *ibid.*

5. (Matt. IV, 12; IX, 9 sq.). And He came into Capernaum and entered into the house of Simon, surnamed Peter, and He opened His mouth and said, "As I walked by the sea of Tiberias, I chose John and James, the sons of Zebedee, and Simon and Andrew and Thaddæus and Simon Zelotes, and Judas Iscariot; thee also, Matthew, when thou wast sitting at the receipt of custom, did I call and thou didst follow me. According to my intention ye shall be twelve apostles for a testimony unto Israel."

Epiphanius, *ibid.*

6. (Matt. XII, 47 sq.). They also deny that He is a man, basing their assertion on the word which He said when He was told: "Behold thy mother and thy brethren stand without." "Who is my mother and who are my brethren?" "And He stretched forth His hand toward His disciples and said: 'These are my brethren and my mother and sisters, which do the will ¹ of my Father.'"

Epiphanius, *Hæres.* XXX, 14.

7. They say that He is not begotten by God the Father, but created like one of the archangels, being greater than they. He rules over the angels and the beings created by God and He came and declared as the gospel used by them records: "I am come to abolish the sacrifices: if ye cease not from sacrificing, the wrath (of God) will not cease from weighing upon you."

Epiphan., *Hæres.* XXX, 16.

8. (Matt. XXVI, 17 sq.). Those who rejected the meat have inconsiderately fallen into the error and said: "I have no desire to eat the flesh of this Paschal Lamb with you." (They leave the true order of words and distort the word which is clear to all from the connection of the words and make the disciples say: "Where wilt Thou that we prepare for Thee to eat the Passover?" To which He replied: "I have no desire to eat the flesh of this Paschal Lamb with you.")

Epiphan., *Hæres.* XXX, 22.

¹ Lit. the wills.

III. THE GOSPEL OF THE EGYPTIANS.

1. *Patristic Notices.*

- a. Their (the Sabellians') entire error has its cause and strength in some Apocrypha, especially in the so-called Gospel of the Egyptians to which some have ascribed this name. For in it many such things are transmitted as esoteric doctrine of the Lord, as if He had taught His disciples that the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit are one and the same.

Epiphanius, *Hæres.* LXII, 2.

- b. (The Naassenes) say that the soul is something which is hard to find and hard to know. For it remains not in one fashion and in one form, nor also in one affection so that it could be called after one pattern or perceived in its nature. These manifold strange notions they find in the so-called gospel of the Egyptians.

Hippolytus, *Philosophumena* V, 7.

2. *Fragments.*

- i. a. Wherefore Salome evidently said when the Logos spoke of the end: "How long shall men die?" . . . Wherefore the Lord very aptly answered: "As long as ye women give birth."

Clem. Alexand., *Stromata* III, 9, 64;
see also III, 6, 45; and Clem. Alex., *Excerpta ex Theodoto* 67.

- b. Why do they (the heretics, who reject mar-

riage) not also quote the following words which were spoken to Salome, they, who sooner follow everything else than the true evangelical canon? For when she said: "Then I have done well that I have not given birth," imagining that it is not permitted to bear children, the Lord answered: "Eat of every herb, but the bitter one eat not."

Clem. Alex., *Stromata* III, 9, 66.

Baring-Gould (l. c., p. 227), quoting these two fragments, remarks: "Cassian appealed to this text also in proof that marriage was forbidden. But Clement of Alexandria refused to understand it in this sense. He is perhaps right when he argues that the first answer of our Lord means, that as long as there are men born, so long men will die. But the meaning of the next answer entirely escapes him. When our Lord says, "Eat of every herb save that which is bitterness," he means, says Clement, that marriage and continence are left to our choice, and that there is no command one way or the other; man may eat of every tree, the tree of celibacy, or the tree of marriage, only he must abstain from the tree of evil. But this is not what was meant. Under a figurative expression, the writer of this passage conveyed a warning against marriage. Death is the fruit of birth, birth is the fruit of marriage. Abstain from eating of the tree of marriage, and death will be destroyed."

Baring-Gould continues by saying: "That this is the real meaning of this remarkable saying is proved conclusively by another extract from the Gospel of the Egyptians, also made by Clement of Alexandria."¹

2. When Salome asked when it shall be made known what she asked, the Lord said: "When you tread under foot the covering of shame. and when out of two is made one, and the male with the female, neither male nor female." And this word we have not in the four gospels transmitted to us, but only in the Gospel of the Egyptians.

Cassian in Clem. Alexand., *Stromata* III, 13, 92.

Almost the same saying is found in the 2. Epistle of Clement, XII, 2, 4, 5, where we read: For the Lord Himself being asked by one when His Kingdom would come, replied, "When two shall be one, that which is without as that which is within, and the male with the female, neither male nor female." The explanation of this singular passage by Clement of Rome is: "Now, two are one when we speak the truth one to another, and there is unfeignedly one soul in two bodies. And 'that which is without as that which is within' meaneth this: He calls the soul 'that which is within,' and the body 'that which is without.' As, then, thy body is visible to

¹ See under 3.

sight, so also let thy soul be manifest by good works. And 'the male with the female, neither male nor female,' this He saith, that brother seeing sister may have no thought concerning her as female, and that she have no thought concerning him as male. 'If ye do these things,' saith He, 'the Kingdom of my Father shall come.'"

3. Those who are hostile to the word of God on account of the notorious continence also quote these words to Salome already referred to. They are found in the Gospel of the Egyptians.

They say: "The Saviour Himself said: 'I came to destroy the works of woman'; 'of the woman' namely of lust; 'the works,' generation and death."

Clem. Alex., *Stromata* III, 9, 63.

IV. THE GOSPEL OF THOMAS.

There is extant in Greek, Latin and Syriac a gospel by Thomas the "Israelitish philosopher," which comprises in nineteen chapters the time from the fifth to the twelfth year of Jesus. Whether this has any connection with the Gospel of Thomas, of which a few fragments are only extant, we know not. Ehrhard thinks it probable that the gospel of infancy is based in some way upon the gospel of Thomas. The latter is mentioned by Nicephorus as having contained 1300 stichoi.

What we know of this gospel we learn from the following:

1. We have, however, necessarily subjoined here a catalog of these also, in order to distinguish those that are true, genuine and well authenticated writings, from those others which are not only not embodied in the canon, but likewise disputed, notwithstanding that they are recognized by most ecclesiastical writers. Thus we may have it in our power to know both these books, and those that are adduced by the heretics under the name of the Apostles, such, viz.: as compose the gospels of "Peter" and "Thomas" and "Matthias" and others beside them, or such as contain the Acts of the Apostles, by Andrew and John, and others, of which no one of those writers in the ecclesiastical succession has condescended to make any mention in his works.

Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* III, 25, 6.

2. The New Testament has only four gospels; the others are pseud-epigrapha and hurtful. The Manichæans wrote also a "gospel according to Thomas," which having the sweet savor of an evangelical name, corrupts the souls of simple people.

Cyrrill. Hieros., *Catech.* IV, 36.

3. Let no one read the "gospel of Thomas." For it is not by one of the apostles, but by one of the evil disciples of Manes.

Cyrrill. Hieros. *Catech.*, VI, 31.

4. But they (i. e., the Naassenes) assert that not only is therein favor of their doctrine testimony to be drawn from the mysteries of the Assyrians, but also from those of the Phrygians concerning the happy nature, concealed and yet at the same time disclosed of things that have been, and are coming into existence, and moreover will be, (a happy nature) which, (the Naassene) says, is the kingdom of heaven to be sought for within a man. And concerning this (nature) they hand down an explicit passage, occurring in the Gospel inscribed "according to Thomas," expressing themselves thus: "He who seeks me will find me in children from seven years old; for there concealed, I shall in the fourteenth age be made manifest."

Hippolytus, *Philosophumena* V, 7.

V. MATTHIAS — TRADITIONS.

Ehrhard states that three writings are connected with the name of the Apostle Matthias: a gospel mentioned only by Origen (and Eusebius), *παραδόσεις Μαθθίου*, quoted by Clement of Alexandria, and finally *λόγοι ἀπόκρυφοι*, private instructions of Jesus given to the apostle, to which Basilides referred according to the *Philosophumena*. Zahn identifies all three writings, but Harnack rightly distinguishes between the gospel and the "Tradi-

tions." Of the gospel nothing can therefore be said; the "Traditions," however must be older than the time of Clement of Alexandria and were in use in non-hæretical circles of Egypt.

1. *Patristic Notices.*

- a. Basilides, therefore, and Isidorus, the true son and disciple of Basilides, say that Matthias communicated to them secret discourses, which, being especially instructed, he heard from the Saviour. Let us, then, see how clearly Basilides, simultaneously with Isidorus, and the entire band of these (heretics), not only absolutely belies Matthias, but even the Saviour Himself. . . . In the first instance, laying hold on this borrowed and furtively derived tenet from the Peripatetics, they play upon the folly of those who herd together with them. For Aristotle, born many generations before Basilides, first lays down a system in "the Categories" covering homonymous words, which they give out as their own and new and as secret doctrine of Matthias.

Hippolytus, *Philosophumena* VII, 20.

- b. Some of the heretics derive their name from some proper name, like the Valentinians, Marcionites, Basilidians, even though they boast to represent the view of Matthias. For as the teaching of the apostles is harmonious, so also their traditions.

Clem. Alex., *Stromata* VII, 17, 108.

2. *Fragments.*

1. Its (of truth) beginning is to admire the deeds, as Plato says in the "Theaetetus" and Matthias recommends in the Traditions: "Wonder at what is before you," laying this down as first step of further knowledge.

Clem. Alex., *Stromata* II, 9, 45.

2. They (the Gnostics) assert that Matthias also taught thus that "the flesh must be contended with, and evil entreated, and its unbridled lust must in no wise be yielded to, but the soul must be made to grow through faith and knowledge."

Clem. Alex., *Stromata* III, 4, 26;

Nicephorus Callisti, *Hist. Eccles.* III, 15.

3. They say that in the Traditions the apostle Matthias said among other things: "If the neighbor of an elect man sin, the elect man has sinned; for had he conducted himself as the word prescribes, his neighbor also would have been filled with such reverence for the life he led as not to sin."¹

Clem. Alex., *Stromata* VII, 13, 82.

4. (Luke XIX, 2-10). Zacchæus, according to others, Matthias, chief of the tax collectors, when he heard how the Lord wished to come

¹ Baring-Gould (l. c. p. 133) remarks: "This was exaggerated in the doctrine of the Albigenses in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The 'Perfects,' the ministers of the sect, 'reconciled' the converted. But if one of the Perfect sinned (*i. e.* ate meat or married), all whom he had reconciled fell with him from grace, even those who were dead and in heaven."

to him, said: "Behold, Lord, the half of my goods, I give to the poor; and if I have taken from any man by false accusation, I restore him fourfold." Of him said the Lord: "The Son of Man came to-day and found that which was lost."

Clem. Alex., *Stromata* IV, 6, 35.

VI. THE GOSPEL OF PHILIP.

According to Harnack this gospel, which Epiphanius found among a Gnostic party in Egypt, belongs to the second, or to the first half of the third century. Zahn thinks that it originated already in the first decades of the second century in primitive Gnostic circles of Egypt. The author is probably the Apostle Philip (John I, 45 sq.; VI, 5, 7; XII, 21 sq.; XIV, 8 sq.) and not the evangelist of that name (Acts VI, 5; VIII, 5 sq.; XXI, 8 sq.).

The only fragment which has been preserved by Epiphanius runs this:—"They (the Gnostics) produce a gospel fathered upon Philip, the holy disciple, in which it is said: The Lord revealed to me what the soul ought to say when she mounts to heaven, and what answer she should give to each of the higher powers: 'I have known myself, and gathered myself together, and begotten no children for the Archon of this world, but have torn up his roots, and gathered the scattered members,

and I know who thou art. For I am descended from the upper world.' By speaking in this manner she is dismissed. But if she is found to have begotten a son, she is kept below, until she is able to take up her children and to draw them to herself."

Epiphanius, *Hæres.* XXVI, 13.

"It is not altogether easy," says Baring-Gould (l. c., p. 294), "to catch the meaning of this singular passage, but it apparently has its signification. The soul trammelled with the chains of matter, created by the Archon, the Creator of the world, has to emancipate itself from all material concerns. Each thought, interest, passion, excited by any thing in the world, is a child born by the soul of Archon, to which the soul has contributed animation, the world, form. The great work of life is the disengagement of the soul from all concern in the affairs of the world, in the requirements of the body. When the soul has reached the most exalted perfection, it is cold, passionless, indifferent; then it comes before the Supreme God, passing through the spheres guarded by attendant aeons or angels, and to each it protests its disengagement. But should any thought or care for mundane matters be found lurking in the recesses of the soul, it has to descend again, and remain in exile till it has reabsorbed all the life it gave, the interest it

felt, in such concerns, and then again make it easy to reach God."

VII. THE GOSPEL OF EVE.

Baring-Gould (l. c., p. 286) says: "The immoral tendency of Valentinianism broke out in coarse, flagrant licentiousness as soon as the doctrines of the sect had soaked down out of the stratum of educated men to the ranks of the undisciplined and vulgar. Valentinianism assumed two forms, broke into two sects, — the Marcosians and the Ophites. . . . The Ophites possessed a gospel, called the 'Gospel of Eve.' It contained, no doubt, an account of the Fall from their peculiar point of view." Epiphanius has preserved two passages from it.

- i. Others are not ashamed to speak of a Gospel of Eve. Upon her name they father a seed as if they had found the meat of knowledge in consequence of a revelation, the serpent having talked with her. And as in the fickle mind of one that is drunk or confused the words are not the same, being partly foolish, partly whining, thus it altogether happened to the secret evil seed of those impostors. And they proceed from the foolish visions and testimonies which are declared in that gospel. They assert the following: "I stood on a high hill

and saw a tall man, and another one who was mutilated and I heard something like the voice of the thunder, and I drew near to hearken, and he spoke to me saying: 'I am thou, and thou art I, and where thou art there am I also and in all things am I sown. And from whosoever thou gatherest me, in gathering me thou gatherest thyself.' " . . .

Epiphanius, *Hæres.* XXVI, 2 sq.

2. They therefore read also in apocryphal books: "I saw a tree, which bore twelve fruits during the year and he said to me: 'This is the tree of life,' which they refer to the female menstruation."

Epiphanius, *l. c.*, 5.

With regard to the first fragment Baring-Gould remarks: "The meaning of this passage is not doubtful. It expresses the doctrine of absolute identity between Christ and the believer, the radiation of divine virtue through all souls, destroying their individuality, that all may be absorbed into Christ. Individualities emerge out of God, and through Christ are drawn back into God."

VIII. THE FAYÛM-FRAGMENT

The Fayûm-Fragment is perhaps the oldest fragment of a non-canonical gospel. Bickell published a facsimile which answers to Mark XIV, 26-30 (but without V, 28), but it may

also be a mere abbreviation of the text of Mark. It may perhaps belong to some homily or treatise. Nösgen and Zahn are in favor of the latter. Harnack suggested that the fragment may belong to the gospel of the Hebrews or Egyptians, a suggestion made before him already by Chiapelli.

The fragment as it stands reads thus:
. . . Before I must depart, you all like . . . will be offended in this night according to the Scripture: "I will smite the shepherd and the sheep shall be scattered." But Peter said: "And though all (do it), yet not I." But the Lord said: "The cock will crow twice, and thou shalt be the first to betray me thrice. . . ."

IX. THE OXYRHYNCHUS-FINDS.

Under this heading we bring the two gospel fragments; the first was published by Grenfell and Hunt in 1904; the second in 1908; the former was discovered in 1903; the latter in December 1905. Besides these gospel-fragments we also bring the Oxyrhynchus Sayings or Logia, both those found in 1897 and 1903.

A. THE GOSPEL-FRAGMENTS.

1. (Take no thought) from morning until even nor from evening until morning, either for your food what ye shall eat or for your raiment what ye shall put on. Ye are far better than the lilies which grow but spin not. Having one garment, what do ye (lack?). . . . Who could add to your stature? He Himself will give you your garment. His disciples say unto Him: "When wilt thou be manifest to us, and when shall we see thee?" He saith: "When ye shall be stripped and not be ashamed. . . ." He said: "The key of knowledge ye hid; ye entered not in yourselves and to them that were entering in ye opened not."¹
2. . . . before he does wrong makes all manner of subtle excuse. But give heed lest ye also suffer the same things as they; for the evildoers among men receive their reward not among the living only, but also await punishment and much torment.

And He took them and brought them into the very place of purification, and was walking in the temple.

And a certain Pharisee, a chief priest, whose name was Levi (?), met them and said to the

¹ The editors state that the gospel from which this fragment comes is likely to have been composed in Egypt before A. D. 150, and to have stood in intimate relation to the gospel of the Egyptians.

Saviour: "Who gave thee leave to walk in this place of purification and to see these holy vessels, when thou hast not washed nor yet have thy disciples bathed their feet? But defiled thou hast walked in this temple, which is a pure place, wherein no other man walks except he has washed himself and changed his garments, neither does he venture to see these holy vessels." And the Saviour straightway stood still with his disciples and answered him: "Art thou then, being here in the temple, clean?" He saith unto him: "I am clean; for I washed in the pool of David, and having descended by one staircase I ascended by another, and I put on white and clean garments, and then I came and looked upon these holy vessels."

The Saviour answered and said unto him: "Woe ye blind, who see not. Thou hast washed in these running waters wherein dogs and swine have been cast night and day, and hast cleansed and wiped the outside skin which also the harlots and flute-girls anoint and wash and wipe and beautify for the lust of men; but within they are full of scorpions and all wickedness. But I and my disciples, who thou sayest have not bathed, have been dipped in the waters of eternal life which come from . . . But woe unto thee. . . .

B. THE OXYRHYNCHUS-LOGIA.

1. . . . And then thou shalt see clearly to cast out the mote that is in thy brother's eye.
2. Jesus says "Except ye fast (*to* or *from*) the world, ye shall in no wise find the Kingdom of God, and except ye sabbatize the Sabbath, ye shall not see the Father."

The phrase to "fast from the world" is also found in Clem. Alex., *Stromata* III, 15, 99. "To sabbatize the Sabbath" is to keep the true Sabbath, is to cease from sin. Of many possible patristic illustrations of spiritual Sabbath-keeping, cf. Justin Martyr, *Dial. c. Trypho* 12: "The new Law wishes you to sabbatize continually, and ye while ye do no work throughout one day imagine that ye act piously. This is because ye do not understand why the command was given you. Also if ye have eaten unleavened bread ye say that ye have fulfilled the law. Not in these things is the Lord our God pleased. If there is any one among you forsworn or a thief, let him cease: if any adulterer, let him repent, and then he has sabbatized the true and joyous Sabbath of God." (Jackson, p. 63.)

3. Jesus saith: "I stood in the midst of the world, and in the flesh was I seen of them, and I found all men drunken, and none found I athirst among them. And my soul grieveth

over the sons of men, because they are blind at heart and see not their poverty.”¹

4. Jesus saith: “Wherever there are two, they are not without God’s presence; and where there is one only, I say, I am with him. Raise up the stone, and there thou shalt find me; cleave the tree and I am there.”

The first part of this logion, because very defective in the manuscript, has given rise to numerous conjectures. We have followed the brilliant conjecture of Blass. As parallel passage may be adduced the saying (see 69) contained in Ephraem Syr., *Evang. Concord. Expos.*

The latter half of this saying offers no difficulty of reading, but is the most contested point of interpretation. The view which has been most widely accepted, is that which sees in the words an assertion of Christ’s presence in nature; so that the sequence of thought will be, “In all forms of human life I am present; yea, and under inanimate creation you will find me.”

5. Jesus says: “A prophet is not acceptable in his own country, neither does a physician work cures upon them that know him.”
6. Jesus says: “A city built on the top of a high

¹ So Klostermann and Preuschen; Taylor suggests: their wretchedness and their poverty; Cross, Lock and Sanday: see not, poor and know not their poverty.

hill and established can neither fall nor be hid."

7. Jesus says: "Thou hearest with one ear (but the other thou hast closed)."

The words within brackets are suggested by Swete.¹

8. (1) These are the true sayings which Jesus who liveth and was dead spake to Judas Thomas. And the Lord said to him: "Whosoever shall hearken to these sayings, he shall in no-wise taste of death."

That Judas has also been called Thomas, we know from the Abgar Legend, from the Acts of Thomas, and Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* I, 13, 11.

9. (2) Jesus saith: "Let not him who seeks the Father cease until he find him; and having found him, let him be amazed; and being amazed he shall reign, and reigning he shall rest."

The substance of this saying is also found in Clem. Alexand., *Stromata* (see above Gospel of the Hebrews XXIV). In the *Acta Thomæ* (ed. Bonnet, p. 243) we read: "And the apostle said: 'The treasury of the holy King is flung open, and they who worthily partake of the good things there rest, and resting they shall reign.'"

10. (3) Jesus saith: "Who are they that draw

¹ With the following begin the sayings found in 1903.

you (MS. us) to the Kingdom? The kingdom is in heaven; but they that are on earth and the birds of the heaven and every creature that is under the earth and in Hades and the fishes of the sea, these are they that draw you to it. And the kingdom of heaven is within you, and whosoever shall know himself shall find it; for if ye shall truly know yourselves, ye are the sons and daughters of the Father Almighty, and ye shall know yourselves to be in the city of God, and ye are the city."

Since the reconstruction of this, the longest and most important of the Sayings is extremely difficult, we have followed Swete's version.¹

11. (4) Jesus saith: "A man will not hesitate to inquire boldly about the seasons, prating of the place of glory. But ye shall hold your peace; for many that are first shall be last, and the last first, and few shall find it."
12. (5) Jesus saith: "All that is not before thy face, and that which is hidden from thee shall be revealed, for there is nothing hidden which shall not be made manifest, or buried which shall not be raised."
13. (6) His disciples question Him and say: "How shall we fast? And how shall we

¹ The different texts are conveniently given in Preuschen *Antilegomena*, p. 22 sq., and Klostermann *Apocrypha* III, pp. 18, 19.

pray? And how are we to give alms? And of such duties what are we to observe?" Jesus saith: "See that ye lose not your reward. Do nothing save the things that belong to the truth, for if you do these, ye shall know a hidden mystery. I say unto you, Blessed is the man who . . ."

This Saying, too, is broken beyond hope of recovery, and we have therefore also followed Swete, who says that "It is an answer to a question which happily has been fairly well preserved." The question seems to have arisen out of some instruction upon almsgiving, prayer and fasting, similar to that which we find in the Sermon on the Mount, if not identical with it. We can imagine the circumstances. After the crowd had dispersed and our Lord was again alone with the Twelve, one or more of His disciples — Thomas, as the prologue suggests, or more probably Peter, perhaps in company with Andrew and the two sons of Zebedee (Mark XIII, 14)— appealed to him for more definite teaching on the three great acts of righteousness to which He had referred. The Pharisaic scribes had laid down definite rules for the discharge of these duties, and they looked to their Master for similar guidance. The strong word *ἐξετάζειν* (i. e., to question), used in this sense only in John XX, 12, indicates a desire to press their suit unduly, to examine, cross-question, and almost

to catechise the Master on these matters, and force Him to prescribe a system of nicely-balanced regulations. How, i. e., after what manner, were His disciples to fulfil their obligations? The motive which prompted the demand is shown by the use of *παρατηρεῖσθαι* (i. e., observe); the Twelve were still under the influence of the Pharisaism which had been the religious teacher of their youth, and they not unnaturally sought to foist the spirit of legalism into the new teaching.—If the question has been rightly interpreted, the general sense of the answer may be conjectured. In such a demand the Master would discover a temper the very opposite of that which he had labored to produce. Those who could make it had failed to grasp the first lessons of the Kingdom of God. To use St. Paul's later phraseology, they looked to be justified by works of law, and not by a righteousness based upon the principle of faith. Against such a perversion of His teaching the Lord would assuredly have made a stand. But in what words? Along what line of thought would He have carried His questioners to a better understanding of His position? The keynote of His answer is struck by *τῆς ἀληθείας*, which survives to show that though the question may have arisen out of the Sermon on the Mount, the Lord's reply was in the terms of the Johannine teaching. To the bare per-

formance of certain prescribed acts He opposed the doing of the truth, which both the Fourth Gospel (III, 21) and the First Epistle of St. John (I, 6) represents, as the first condition of life in Christ. No mere acts in fastings, prayer, and almsgiving, no formal observance of external duties could secure the Divine reward, which depends on the assimilation and fulfilment of the Truth itself." (Expository Times, August, 1904, p. 493.)

X. REMAINS OF THE GOSPEL OF PETER.

1. *Patristic Notices.*

- a. (The citizens of Nazareth) thought that he was the son of Joseph and Mary. But some say, basing it on a tradition in the Gospel according to Peter, as it is entitled, or "the book of James," that the brethren of Jesus were sons of Joseph by a former wife, whom he married before Mary.

Origen, *Comment. in Matt.* X, 17.

- b. The Nazorites are Jews who revere Christ as a righteous man and use the so-called gospel according to Peter.

Theodoret., *Hær. fab. comp.* II, 2.

- c. As to what are called his (i. e., Peter's) Acts, and the Gospel according to Peter, and that called "the Preaching and the Revelation of him," we know nothing of their being handed down as Catholic writings. Since neither

among the ancient nor the ecclesiastical writers of our own day, has there been one that has appealed to testimony taken from them.

Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* III, 3, 2.

3. There is also another work composed by him (i. e., Serapion)¹ on the gospel of Peter, as it is called, which, indeed, he wrote to refute the false assertions which it contains, on account of some in the church of Rhossus, who by this work were led astray to perverted doctrines. From which it may be well to add some brief extracts by which it may be seen what he thought of the book:—

“We, brethren, receive Peter and the other Apostles as Christ Himself. But those writings which falsely go under their name, as we are well acquainted with them, we reject, and know also, that we have not received such handed down to us. But when I came to you, I had supposed that all held the true faith; and as I had not perused the gospel presented to them under the name of Peter, I said ‘If this be the only thing that creates difference among you, let it be read’; but now having understood, from what was said to me, that their minds were enveloped in some heresy, I will

¹ Serapion, Bishop of Antioch 190–203, on entering his see, learned that there was a gospel attributed to Peter read in the sacred services of the church of Rhossus, in Cilitia. He at first sanctioned its use, but after a more careful examination Serapion regretted his precipitation in sanctioning the use of the Gospel, and wrote a book upon it, “in refutation of its false assertions.”

make haste to come to you again; therefore, brethren, expect me soon. But as we perceived what was the heresy of Marcion, we plainly saw that he ignorantly contradicted himself, which things you may learn from what has been written to you. For we have borrowed this gospel from others, who have studied it, that is, from the successors of those who led the way before him, whom we call Docetæ (for most opinions have sprung from this sect). And in this we have discovered many things superadded to the sound faith of our Saviour; some also attached that are foreign to it, and which we have also subjoined for your sake."

Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* VI, 12, 2-6.

This was all that was known of the Gospel of Peter till the publication of the Akhmîm fragment which was discovered by the French Archæological Mission, Cairo, in a grave (supposed to be a monk's) in an ancient cemetery at Akhmîm (Panopolis) in Upper Egypt in 1886. It was published in 1892 under the care of M. Bouriant in the "Memoirs of the French Archæological Mission at Cairo," Vol. IX., fasc. i. The same parchment which contained this fragment also contained a fragment of the Revelation of Peter and a fragment of the book of Enoch in Greek.

The find soon produced a great literary activity, as can be seen from the bibliography.

The fragment begins in the middle of the history of the Passion, and ends in the middle of a sentence, with the departure of the disciples into Galilee at the end of the Feast of Unleavened Bread, exactly a week after the Crucifixion, the ostensible author, Peter, and Andrew, his brother, taking their nets and going to the sea.

The dependence of our Gospel upon the canonical gospels, especially the synoptical, is admitted by most scholars. It is also admitted that the Gospel of Peter was known to Justin. Harnack thinks that Clement of Alexandria, the Didascalia, Pseudo-Ignatius, Ephraem also perused the Gospel of Peter, and assigns as its date AC 110-130. It originated in Syria, but was also known in Egypt.

2. THE GOSPEL OF PETER.

- I, 1. But of the Jews none washed his hands, neither Herod nor any of his judges. And when they had refused to wash them, Pilate rose up.
2. And then Herod, the King, commanded that the Lord be taken, saying to them: "What things soever I command you to do, do unto him."
- II, 3. And there stood Joseph, the friend of Pilate and of the Lord, and knowing that they would crucify him, he came to Pilate, and asked the body of the

4. Lord for burial.— And Pilate sent to
5. Herod and asked his body.— And Herod said: “ Brother Pilate, even if no one had asked for him, we should have buried him. For the Sabbath is drawing on; for it is written in the law, that the sun set not upon one that hath been put to death.” And he delivered him to the people on the day before the feast of the unleavened bread, their feast.
- III, 6. And they took the Lord and pushed him as they ran and said: “ Let us drag away the Son of God, since we
7. have him in our power.” And they clothed him with purple, and set him on the seat of judgment and said: “ Judge righteously, O King of Israel.”
8. And one of them brought a crown of thorns and put it on the head of the
9. Lord.— And others stood and spat in his eyes, and others smote his cheeks; others pricked him with a reed, and some scourged him, saying: “ With this honor let us honor the Son of God.”
- IV, 10. And they brought two malefactors, and they crucified the Lord between them. But he held his peace, as though having no pain.
- II. And when they had raised the cross they wrote the title: “ This

12. is the King of Israel.”—And having set his garments before him they parted them among them, and cast lots for
13. them.—And one of the malefactors reproached them and said: “We for the evils that we done have suffered thus, but this man, who hath become the Saviour of men, what wrong hath
14. he done to you?”—And they became angry at him and commanded that his legs should not be broken, that he might die in torment.
- V, 15. And it was noon and darkness came over all Judæa, and they made a noise and were distressed, lest the sun had set, whilst he (Jesus) was yet alive. For it is written for them, that the sun set not on him that hath been put to
- 16, 17. death. And one of them said: “Give him to drink gall with vinegar.” And they mixed and gave him to drink. And they fulfilled all things, and accomplished the sins against their own
18. head. And many went about with lamps, supposing that it was night, and fell down.—And the Lord cried out,
19. saying: “My power, my power, thou hast forsaken me,” and after these
20. words he was taken up. And in that hour the vail of the temple of Jerusalem was rent in twain,

- VI, 21. And then they drew out the nails from the hands of the Lord, and laid him
22. upon the earth. And the whole earth quaked and great fear arose.— Then the sun shone, and it was found (that
23. it was) the ninth hour.— And the Jews rejoiced and gave his body to Joseph that he might bury it, since he had seen
24. what good things he had done.— And he took the Lord and washed him, and rolled him in a linen cloth, and brought him into his own tomb, called the Garden of Joseph.
- VII, 25. Then the Jews and the elders and the priests, perceiving what evil they had done to themselves, began to beat themselves and to say: “ Woe for our sins; the judgment has come nigh and the
26. end of Jerusalem.”— And I with my companions was grieved, and being wounded in mind we hid ourselves. For we were being sought for by them as malefactors, and as wishing to set
27. fire to the temple.— And upon all these things we fasted and sat mourning and weeping night and day until the Sabbath.
- VIII, 28. And the scribes and Pharisees and elders being gathered together one with another, when they heard that the whole people murmured and beat their breasts

- saying: "If by his death such great signs have taken place, see what righteous man he is."—And the elders were afraid and came to Pilate, beseeching him and saying:—"Give us soldiers that we may guard his sepulchre for three days, lest his disciples come and steal him and the people suppose that he is risen from the dead and do us evil."—And Pilate gave them Petronius the centurion with soldiers to guard the tomb. And with them elders and scribes went to the sepulchre,—
29. and with the centurion and the soldiers all who were there rolled a great stone and set it at the door of the sepulchre,—and they affixed seven seals, and having pitched a tent there, they guarded it.
30. IX, 34. And when the morning of the Sabbath came, a multitude came from Jerusalem and the region round about, to see the sealed sepulchre.—And in the night in which the Lord's day was drawing on, as the soldiers kept guard two by two, there was a great voice in the heaven,
31. —and they saw the heavens opened, and two men descending from thence with great splendor and coming to the tomb.—That stone which was put at the door, rolled away of itself and made
- 32.
- 33.
- 35.
- 36.
- 37.

way in part, and the tomb was opened and the two young men entered in.—

- X, 38. And when the soldiers saw this, they awakened the centurion and the elders, for they too had remained there to keep
39. guard.— And as they were telling what they had seen, they saw again three men come forth from the tomb, and two of them supporting one, and a cross
40. following them,—and of the two the head reached into the heaven, but the head of him that was led by them over-
41. passed the heavens,—and they heard a voice from the heavens, saying: “Hast thou preached to them that sleep”—
42. And a response was heard from the cross: “Yea.”—

- XI, 43. They therefore considered one with another whether to go away and shew
44. these things to Pilate.—And while they yet thought thereon, the heavens again were seen to open, and a certain man to descend and enter into the sep-
45. ulchre.—When the centurion and they that were with him saw these things, they hastened in the night to Pilate, leaving the tomb which they were watching, and declared all things which they had seen, being greatly distressed
46. and saying: “Truly He was the Son of God.”—Pilate answered and said:

"I am pure from the blood of the Son of God; you have decided thus."—

47. Then they all drew near and besought him and entreated him to command the centurion and the soldiers to say nothing of the things which they had seen.

48. —"For it is better," say they, "to commit the greatest sin before God, and not to fall into the hands of the people

49. of the Jews and to be stoned."—And Pilate commanded the centurion and the soldier to say nothing.—

XII, 50. And at dawn upon the Lord's day, Mary Magdalen, a disciple of the Lord, fearing because of the Jews, since they were burning with wrath, had not done at the Lord's sepulchre the things which women are wont to do for their beloved

51. dead — she took her friends with her and came to the sepulchre where he

52. was laid.—And they feared lest the Jews should see them, and they said:

"Although on that day on which he was crucified we could not weep and lament, yet now let us do these things

53. at His sepulchre.—But who shall roll away for us the stone that was laid at the door of the sepulchre, that we may enter in and sit by Him and do the things that are due?—For the stone was great, and we fear lest someone

54. see us. And if we cannot, yet if we but set at the door the things which we bring for a memorial of Him, we will weep and lament, until we come unto our home."
- XIII, 55. And they went and found the tomb opened, and coming near they looked in there; and they see there a certain young man sitting in the midst of the tomb, beautiful and clothed in a robe exceeding bright, who said to them:—
56. "Wherefore are ye come? Whom seek ye? Him that was crucified? He is risen and gone. But if ye believe not, look in and see the place where he lay, that he is not (here); for he is risen and gone thither, whence he was sent." Then the women feared and fled.—
- XIV, 58. Now it was the last day of the unleavened bread, and many were going forth, returning to their homes, as the feast was ended.—But the twelve disciples of the Lord wept and were grieved; and each one being grieved for that which was come to pass, departed to his house.—But I Simon Peter and Andrew my brother took our nets and went to the sea; and there was with us Levi the son of Alphæus, whom the Lord . . .

Harnack (Texte und Untersuchungen IX, 2 (1893), has pointed out the following new traits contained in the Petrine account of the history of the Passion and burial:

1. Herod was the judge who condemned Jesus, and to him application had to be made for the body.
2. The Jews, Herod and the Judges would not wash their hands, and Pilate then raised the sitting.
3. Joseph was the friend of Pilate (II).
4. Joseph begged for the body before the crucifixion, and Pilate sent for permission from Herod.
5. The soldiers "pushed him as they ran" and their speech (III).
6. The mockery of the soldiers.
7. Mocking speech.
8. "As though having no pain" (IV).
9. "Having set his garments before him."
10. One of the malefactors blamed the multitude, and his speech.
11. The legs of either the malefactor or Jesus were not broken *that he might die in torment*.
12. The gall and the vinegar (V).
13. In the darkness many went about with lamps, and fell down.
14. The cry "My power, my power."
15. The fact that when he had so cried Christ was taken up.

16. Mention of the nails in the hands at the taking down from the cross (VI)
17. The earthquake when the body touched the ground.
18. The joy of the Jews when the sun shone again.
19. Joseph "had seen all the good things" that the Lord had done.
20. Joseph washed the body.
21. The cries of woe of the Jews and their leaders over their sins, and their expectation of the judgment on Jerusalem (VII).
22. The disciples remained in concealment, full of grief, and fasted and wept till the Sabbath.
23. They were searched for as malefactors and as anxious to burn the temple.
24. The name of the centurion of the watch — Petronius (VIII).
25. The centurion, the soldiers, and the elders rolled up the stone.
26. The elders also watched at the grave.
27. Seven seals were affixed to the stone.
28. A tent pitched for the watch.
29. The gathering of the multitude on the morning of the Sabbath to see the sealed sepulchre (IX).

The narrative of the resurrection also differs from that of the canonical gospels, as the reader can see for himself.

XI. FOUR COPTIC GOSPEL FRAGMENTS.

A. From a collection of papyri belonging to the fourth or fifth century and which are found at the Strasburg-University, A. Jacoby edited "Ein Neues Evangelienfragment," in which he thought to see remains of the gospel of the Egyptians. Profs. Schmidt and Zahn assign the fragment to the so-called gospel of the Ebionites. We follow the German translation as given by Schmidt, Hennecke and Preuschen.

Coptic 5 recto: [That] he be known by [his hospitality? (in strange . . .?)] and be praised on account of its fruit, for (that? because?). . . . many of . . . Amen. Give me now thy [power], O Father, that [they] bear with me [the world]. Amen. [I have] received the diadem (sceptre) of the Kingdom [which is (?) the] diadem of Him, who is . . . [since one (?)] despised them [in their] humility, not having [known them]. I have become King [through Thee], O Father. Thou shalt subject to me [all things. Amen]. Through whom shall [the last] enemy be destroyed? Through [Christ]. Amen. Through whom shall the sting of death be [destroyed? Through the] Only begotten. Amen. To whom belongs [the] dominion? [It belongs to the Son.] Amen.

[Through whom have all things been made?
By the First-born? . . .]

Here 2-3 lines are wanting.

verso: [And] when [Jesus had] completed
[the] whole [praise? of His Father, He turned
to us and said [to us]: The hour is come,
when I shall be taken away from you. The
spirit [is] willing, but the flesh [is] weak.
[Tarry] then, and watch [with me]: But
we, the apostles [we] wept [whilst to Him
we] said: [Son] of God . . . [shall]
Himself. . . . He answered and said [to
us]: Fear ye not [the] destruction [of the
body], but rather fear ye . . . the power
[of darkness?]. Remember all that [which
I] have said unto you: [if] they have perse-
cuted [me, they shall] also persecute you.
. . . [Ye?] then, rejoice, that I [have
overcome the world], and I have . . .

Here 2-3 lines are wanting.

6 recto: (that I) may manifest unto you all my
glory and show unto you all your power and
the mystery of your apostleship . . . [in
the] mount. . . .

Verso: Our eyes pierced through all places,
we saw the glory of His deity and the entire
glory [of His] dominion. He invested [us
with] the power of [our] apostle [ship].
. . . .

B. Prof. Carl Schmidt, the learned editor of the
Acta Pauli in the Coptic with a German trans-

lation (Leipzig, 1904), mentions the fact that the Coptic papyrus, besides the Acta Pauli, also contained some gospel which was added by the copyist in order to fill up the empty space. Unhappily only one leaf (p. 79-80) has been preserved and this in a mutilated form. The fragment according to Schmidt's translation runs thus:

.....
the works.....
 they were much surprised and took counsel with themselves. He said to them: "Why do you marvel that I raise the dead, or make the lame walk, or that I cleanse the lepers, or heal the sick, or the paralytics and the demons, or that I filled many with a few loaves, or that I walked on the sea or that I commanded the winds. If you believe this and are convinced, ye are great. For verily I say unto you: If ye say unto this mountain, be thou removed, and be thou cast into the sea, without having doubted in your heart, it shall be done unto you." . . . One of them, named Simon, being convinced and he said: "O Lord, truly the works are great, which thou doest. For we have never heard nor have we ever seen a man who raised the dead besides thee." The Lord said to him: "You shall ask the works, which I shall do . . . but the other works I shall do at once. For these I do because of a momentary salvation

(healing) in the time, when they are in these places, that they may believe on him who hath sent me." Said Simon to him: "O Lord, command me to speak." He said to him: "Speak, Peter." For from that day on he called them by name. He said: "Which work is greater than these . . . except the raising of the dead and the feeding of such a multitude?" Said the Lord to him: "There is something which is greater than this, and blessed are they who have believed with all their heart." But Philip lifted up his voice in anger, saying: "What thing is this which thou wouldest teach us?" And he said to him: "Thou

.....
 "There can be no doubt," says Prof. Schmidt, "that this fragment belongs to an apocryphal gospel. Many hearers (his disciples) are with the Lord, who wonder at the miraculous deeds which He did, but are still doubting. The Lord perceiving this, addresses them, why they wonder. The different miracles mentioned by the synoptists are here mentioned (comp. Matt. II, 5; Luke VII, 22). He asks them to believe and not to doubt and they themselves will then become great. He tells them what we read Matt. XXI, 21 (see XVII, 20); Mark XI, 23.

- C. A manuscript belonging to the fourth or fifth century, of which only one-half (32 pages)

is preserved, contains, according to Prof. Schmidt, discourses of Jesus with his disciples, which are put into their mouth, so that the whole appears as an apocryphal epistle of the apostles. According to Harnack the record originated between 150-180. More details can only be ascertained when the whole is published.

(Mary, Martha and Mary Magdalene go to the sepulchre to anoint the body. Seeing the empty sepulchre they are sad and weep. The Lord appears to them and says): "Why do ye weep? Stop your weeping, I am He, whom ye seek. But let one of you go to the brethren and say: Come, the Master is risen from the dead." Martha went away and told it to us. We said to her: "What hast thou to do with us, O woman? (Comp. John II, 4.) He, who died, is buried and it is impossible that he lives." We believed her not that the Redeemer had risen from the dead. So she went to the Lord and said to him: "None among them has believed me that thou livest." He said: "Let another of you go to them and say it to them again." So Mary went and told us a second time and we believed her not. She came back to the Lord, and told Him. Then the Lord said to Mary and her other sisters: "Let us go to them." And he went and found us within and called us forth. But we thought that it was a phantom

and believed not that it was the Lord. And he said to us: "Come, and . . . thou, O Peter, who hast just betrayed [Me] thrice, dost thou still deny?" And we approached Him, still doubting in our hearts, whether it is He. And He said to us: "Why doubt ye yet, and are unbelieving? I am He that hath told you, so that on account of my flesh and my death and my resurrection ye should know that it is I. Peter, lay thy finger in the nail-prints of my hands; and thou, Thomas, lay thy finger in the lance wounds in my side. And thou, Andrew, touch my feet, and thou wilt see that they . . . those of earth. For it is written in the Prophet: 'Phantoms of dreams . . . upon earth.'"¹ And we answered him: "We have perceived in truth that . . . in the flesh." And we cast ourselves on our faces confessing our sins that we had been unbelieving.

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- D. In his "Neutestamentliche Parallelen und Verwandtes aus altchristlicher Literatur," 1903, Julius Boehmer publishes a piece from the Coptic, which may be considered as a parallel to the parable of the good Samaritan. Thus we read, p, 25 sq.: "It happened that the Lord went forth from the city and walked with His disciples over the mountains. And they came to a mountain, and the road which

¹ Wisdom of Solomon XVIII. 17.

led to it was steep. There they found a man with a sumpter-mule. But the animal had fallen, for the burden was too heavy, and he beat it, that it bled. And Jesus came to him and said: 'Man, why doest thou beat thy animal? Seest thou not, that it is too weak for its burden, and knowest thou not that it suffers pains?' But the man answered and said: 'What is that to you? I can beat it as much as I please, since it is my property, and I bought it for a good sum of money. Ask those who are with Thee, for they know me and know thereof.' And some of the disciples said: 'Yea, Lord, it is as he says. We have seen how he bought it.' But the Lord said: 'Do you not notice how it bleeds, and hear you not, how it laments and cries?' But they answered and said: 'Nay, Lord, we hear not that it laments and cries.' And the Lord was sad and exclaimed: 'Woe to you, that ye hear not how it complains to the creator in heaven and cries for mercy. But three times woes to him, of whom it complains and cries in its distress.' And He came forth and touched the animal. And it arose and its wounds were healed. And Jesus said to the man: 'Now, go on and beat it no more, that you also may find mercy.'"

XII. SOME MANUSCRIPT READINGS.

Matt. VI, 8. For your Father knoweth what things ye have need of, before ye open the mouth.

Codex D or Bezae.

Matt. X, 23. Flee into the next, and if they persecute you in the next, flee into another.

Codex D. so also Ephraem Syrus, *Evangelii concordantis expositio* (ed. Mössinger), p. 94.

Matt. XII, 36. And I say unto you, that men must give an account of every good word which they shall not speak.

Cod. C. of the Palestinian Syriac Library.

Matt. XVII, 27. Jesus said unto him: "Children then are free." Simon said unto him: "Yea." Jesus said unto him: "Give thou also unto them like the stranger."

Cod. Algerinae Peckover (Cod. Ev. 561).

Matt. XX, 28. But ye seek to increase from little, and from greater to less. When ye go and are bidden to dinner, sit not down in the highest places lest a more honorable than thou come, and he that bade thee come and say to thee: "Take a lower seat, and you be ashamed." But when thou sittest in a lower seat, and a less honorable man than thou come,

then he that bade thee will say unto thee: "Go up higher;" and this will be profitable to thee.

Cod. D.

The Syr. Curet. reads the beginning: "But ye seek to increase from little, and *not* from greater to less." The Christian poet Juvenus of the fourth century has incorporated our sayings in his poetic *Hist. Evang.* III, 613 sq. beginning:

"At vos ex minimis opibus transcendere vultis."

Mark IV, 9. Let him hear, and he that understands let him understand.

Cod. D.

Mark IX, 46. Salted with fire and every sacrifice shall be salted with salt.

Cod. D.

Mark XIII, 37. But what I say to one, I say to you all.

Cod. Bobb. Taurin. In Optatus, *De schismate Donatistarum* I, 1, the reading is: "What I say to one of you, I say unto all."

Luke VI, 4. At the end of this verse we read:

The same day, having seen one working on the Sabbath, He said to him: 'O man, if thou knowest what thou doest, thou art blessed, but if thou knowest not, thou art accursed, and a transgressor of the Law.'

Codex D. Dean Plumptre, who regards the

narrative as authentic, remarks: "It brings out with a marvelous force the distinction between the conscious transgression of a law recognized as still binding, and the assertion of a higher law as superseding the lower." Alford in loco remarks: "The remarkable substitution in D for verse 5 seems to be an interpolation, but hardly an invention of a later time. Its form and contents speak for its originality, and, I am disposed to believe its authenticity." Farrar (Life of Christ, I, 439) thinks "the story too striking, too intrinsically probable, to be at once rejected as unauthentic." Westcott says: "It is evident that the saying rests on some real incidents." Ropes also thinks that the saying might be possibly authentic. Grotius (Ann. in Evang. in loco) conjectured that it might have been the marginal gloss of a Marcionite, and directed against the authority of the O. T. Scriptures, but, as Jackson remarks: "This seems far-fetched, and the saying has apparently no such aim. Its force would appear to be: Those who work on the Sabbath with a full knowledge that it was given for man, and that works for God and of mercy do not break it, are blessed. Those who work in sheer lawlessness, or for mere selfish gain or pleasure, are cursed."

The passage has some value as illustrating the very early abrogation of the Sabbath.

Luke IX, 55, 56. And He said: "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of; for the son of man came not to destroy men's lives, but to save."

Syr. Curet. in loco; Cod. Colbertin. i. 1. and Diatessaron Arabicum ed. Ciasca, p. 68*b*. So also in the Vulgate, Textus Receptus, Authorized Version and Luther.

Luke X, 16. He that heareth me, hears him who sent me.

Cod. D.; Syr. Curet. in loco; Evangel. Hieros., p. 464.

Luke XI, 2. Thy Holy Spirit come upon us and purify us.

Cod. Ev. 604 (= 700 Gregory) ed. Hoskier, 1890. "This Codex," says Nestle (Einführung in das Griechische Neue Testament, 2 ed. 1899, p. 71), "differs in 2,724 instances from the textus receptus; in 270 instances it has readings peculiar to it alone, and besides Marcion in the second and Gregory of Nyssa in the sixth century, is thus far the only witness for the second petition of the Lord's Prayer (Luke XI, 2) in the form as given above. But see Resch, p. 84, where other authorities are quoted.

John XVII, 26. In them. And lifting up his hands, Jesus said to His Disciples: "Behold the hour is come to drink the cup, which the Father hath given Me to drink. I go again

to My Father who has sent Me; and I say to you again: I send you, keep my commandments. Teach what I have taught you, that the world may know it; therefore receive the Holy Ghost, and whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them, and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained. Ye have heard what I said unto you: I am not of this world, the Comforter is among you, teach through the Comforter. As the Father has sent Me, so do I send you. Verily, I say unto you, I am not of this world; but John shall be your father, till he shall go with Me into the Paradise." And he anointed them with the Holy Ghost.

From the Gospel of St. John, preserved in the archives of the Templars of St. John of Jerusalem in Paris (text is found in Thilo Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti, p. 880).

John XIX, 26-30. He says to His Mother: "Weep not; I go to My Father and to eternal life, behold thy Son! He will keep My place." Then saith He to the disciple: "Behold thy mother!" Then bowing His head, he gave up the Ghost.—

Ibidem.

XIII. SCATTERED SAYINGS.

(Note. For the sake of convenience we quote the authors or sources in alphabetical order.)

1. It is written concerning me: "Blessed are they that see me and believe; and three times blessed are they that have not seen me and believe."

Abgari, *Epistula*, c. 2 (p. 281, ed. Lipsius), see also *Doctrine of Addai*, p. 4, and Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* I, 13, 10.

2. For thus did he command me, saying: "Behold I send thee like a sheep in the midst of wolves, but fear them not." And again he said to us: "That through many tribulations must ye enter into the Kingdom of God."

Prochorus, *Acts of John* (ed. Zahn), p. 83.

3. For the Lord said unto me: "If you do not make your low things high and the high things low, and the right as the left, and the left as the right, ye shall not enter into my Kingdom."

Acta Philippi, e. Cod. Oxon., c. 34; see also Pseudo-Linus, *De Passione Pauli et Petri* (Biblioth. Patr. max. Lugd. II, p. 70b).

4. "Behold, my bridechamber is ready; but blessed is he who has been found in it wearing the

shining garment; he it is who receives the crown upon his head."

Acta Philippi (Tischendorf Apocal. apocr. 1866, p. 147).

5. And I also heard him saying this: "They who are with me have not understood me."

Actus Petri cum Simone c. 10.

6. "Blessed art Thou, who, although thou hast not seen Me, believest in Me, for it is written of Me, 'Those who see Me will not believe in Me, and those who see Me not, will believe in Me.'"

Doctrine of Addai (ed. Phillips, p. 4).

7. Thus the Lord commanded us that what we preach in word to the people, we should practice before every man.

Doctrine of Addai, p. 41, 4.

8. I will not frustrate the word of Christ which he spoke to me: "Accept not anything from any man, and possess nothing in this world."

Doctrine of Addai, p. 48, 12.

9. As also the Lord said in the Gospel: "If any one shall leave all things for My name's sake, at the second coming he shall inherit everlasting life."

Agathangelus (ed. Lagarde, p. 34, 81).

10. And it is written: "Ask great things and the small ones will be added to you. Ask heavenly things and the earthly will be added."

Ambrose, *Epist.* I, 36 *ad. Horont.*, c. 3.

11. For the Lord also called the giver more blessed than the receiver.

Anast. Sinaita, *quæst.* 14 (Migne 89, p. 468).

12. The word of Christ, which he spake to us: "Accept not anything from any man, and possess not anything in this world."

Ancient Syriac Documents (ed. Cureton and Wright), p. 20; see also No. 8.

13. For thus, they say, He said in the Gospel: "Become ye skillful money-changers."

Apelles in Epiphan., *Hæres.* XLIV, 2.

14. And when His disciples asked the Lord, why they only asked for this only that they said unto Him: "Increase our faith." The Lord said to them: "If you have faith, a mountain will also move from you." And He says to them: "You shall not doubt and sink in the world like Simon, who, when he doubted, was on the point of sinking."

Aphraates, *Homilies* (transl. by Bert) I, 15.

15. As it is written. . . . Our Lord said: "Pray and become not tired."

Aphraates, *Homil.* IV, 66.

16. As it is written: "First must the one who prayeth, who offereth his prayer, well consider his gift to see whether there be any spot found in it, and then shall he offer it, that his offering remain not upon the earth."

Aphraates *Homil.*, p. 66.

17. And our Saviour says to them: "Ye are children of Cain and not children of Abraham."

Aphraates, *ibid.*, p. 278.

18. For it is written: "The good must surely come, and blessed is he by whom it comes; and the bad must surely come; but woe to him, through whom it comes."

Aphraates, *ibid.*, p. 70.

19. He told us beforehand, when He taught "The weak shall be saved through the strong."

Apostolic Church Ordinances 26 (in Hilgenfeld, *Novum Testamentum extra canonem*, 2d ed. IV, p. 118), quoted by Resch as *Judicium Petri*, p. 104.

The context in the original is as follows:—
 Andrew said: "It is good, brethren, to appoint a ministry for the women." Peter said: "We arranged it before; but concerning the offering of the Body and of the Blood let us give exact instructions." John said: "Ye forget, brethren, how the Master, when He asked for the bread and cup and blessed them saying: 'This is my Body and Blood,' did not suffer the women to stand with us." Martha said: "On account of Mary, because He (or because she) saw her smiling. Mary said: "I did not laugh: for He told us before when He taught, 'the weak shall be saved through the strong.'" Kephass said: "But remember some (who say) that (it befits)

women to pray, not standing upright, but seated on the ground."

Ropes calls our saying "beautiful, worthy of a place in the Gospel."

20. As it is written: "The Lord knoweth them that are His, both those that are near and those that are far off."

Apost. Constitutions II, 54.

21. The Lord when reproaching Jerusalem said: "Sodom is justified of thee."

Apost. Constitut. II, 60; comp. also Origen, in *Jerem. Homil.*, VIII, 7, and in *Matt. Comment.* 76. In the latter passage, which is only extant in Latin it is quoted as a word of Ezekiel.—There seems to be no doubt that the application is to Jerusalem of *Matt.* X, 15, and XI, 24: "It shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom in the day of judgment than for thee." Had Sodom heard the words and seen the deeds of Jesus, "there would have been no need for the stern surgery which cauterized the Plain of the Cities, and Sodom might have been still standing."

22. Since even the Lord says "the giver was happier than the receiver." And it is again said by Him: "Woe to those that have, and receive in hypocrisy, or who are able to support themselves, yet will receive of others; for both

of them shall give an account to the Lord God in the day of judgment."

Apost. Constitut. IV, 3; with this may be compared the *Latin Didascalia*, ed. Hauler, p. 53, 25; *Didascalia* IV, 3 ed. Lagarde, p. 297; Clem. Alex., *Fragmenta ex Nicetæ catena in Matt.* V, 42; *Didaché* I, 5; Hermas, *Mandat.* II, 5.

23. He commanded them to preach the Gospel in all world and to make disciples of all nations and to baptize into His death.

Apost. Constitut. V, 7.

24. These are they concerning whom the Lord bitterly and severely stated that there are false Christs and false teachers, who have blasphemed the spirit of grace, and done despite to the gift they had from him, after the grace, to whom forgiveness shall not be granted, neither in this world nor in that which is to come.

Apost. Constitut. VI, 18.

25. Then shall the wicked go to eternal damnation, but the righteous shall go unto life eternal inheriting those things which eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor has entered into the heart of man, which God prepared for those that love him, and they shall rejoice in the Kingdom of God.

Apost. Constitut. VII, 32; see also Clem. Alex., *Protrept.* X, 94.

26. As often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye show forth my death, until I come.

Apost. Constitut. VIII, 12. The same we find in 1 Cor. XI, 26, only that Paul uses the third person instead of the first. On this account it has been urged that 1 Cor. XI, 26, contains St. Paul's words. But it has also been urged that the passage as it stands in the Apostolic Constitutions, being quoted in early Liturgies in the first person, is proof of the view of an early period of the Church that it was a saying of the Lord's. Thus in the Liturgy of St. Mark "ut Origenis temporibus legebatur" (see Bunsen, *Analecta Ante-Nicæna* III, p. 117), we read: "For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye show forth my death, and confess my resurrection and ascension until I come." See also the Liturgy of the Apostle James, the brother of the Lord in Fabricius *Codex Apocryphus Novi Test.* III, p. 127.

27. For the Logos again says to us: "If anyone kiss a second time because it has given him pleasure (he sins); adding: Therefore the kiss (or rather the salutation) should be given with the greatest care, since if there be mixed with it the least defilement of thought, it excludes us from eternal life."

Athenagoras, *Legatio* 32.

28. But our Lord answered the Apostles when they asked what we ought to think of the Jewish prophets, who, as was supposed, had formerly said something concerning His coming, and supposing that they (the Apostles) thought now something similar: "Ye have dismissed the living, who was before you and talk of the dead." What wonder when the heretics invented such things about the prophets — for this word belongs to some apocryphal writing — since they accept not these writings (i. e., the sacred).

Augustinus, *Contra advers. legis et prophet.* II, 4, 14.

29. And the Lord says: "Behold, I make the last like the first."

Barnabas VI, 13.

30. For thus he says: "Those who wish to see me and to lay hold upon my Kingdom, must receive me through tribulation and suffering."

Barnabas VII, 11.

31. According to that word: "Every man who is not tempted is not approved."

Cassian., *Coll.* IX, 23.

32. It is also written: "Let thine alms sweat in thy land until thou findest the just to whom thou givest it."

Cassiodorus, *Exposito in Ps.* XL.

33. On this account the Scripture announces to the believer: "The saints of the Lord shall inherit the glory of God and His power" which

glory, O blessed one? Tell me! "Which eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor has entered into the heart of man. And they shall rejoice over the Kingdom of their Lord in eternity. Amen."

Clem. Alex., *Protrept.* X, 94.

Klostermann suggests to read: "The saints of the Lord shall inherit the glory of God and his power (which glory, O blessed one? tell me! which . . .) and they shall.

34. "These are they that stretch the warps and weave nothing," says the Scripture.

Clem. Alex., *Stromata* I, 8, 41.

35. "Thou seest," He says, "thy brother, thou seest thy God."

Clem. Alex., *Stromata* I, 19, 94; II, 15, 71; the same we find in Tertullian *de orat.* 26, only that he reads "Lord" for "God."

26. For he says: "Ask the great things and the small ones shall be added unto you."

Clem. Alex., *Stromata* I, 24, 158.

Eusebius in *Psalm* XVI, 2, quotes this as a word of the Saviour. In *Stromata* IV, 6, 34 Clement has: "Seek first the kingdom of the heavens and the righteousness, for these are great things; and the small and concerning the food, these shall be added to you." In a fuller form the saying is given by Ambrose (see above

10) and by Origen *de orat. libell.* II, 14, 16, also in his *Selecta in Psalm* IV. And in *against Celsus* VII, 44, he says: "For he (i. e., the Christian) has learnt from Jesus to seek for nothing small or mean, that is sensible objects, but to ask only for what is great and truly divine."

37. Rightly therefore, the Scripture in its desire to make us such dialecticians, exhorts us: "Be (become) ye skilful money-changers," rejecting some things, but retaining which is good.

Clem. Alex., *Stromata* I, 28, 177. This saying is the most commonly quoted of all *agrapha*.

Resch gives no less than sixty-nine passages, in which this saying occurs sometimes as a saying "of the teacher," sometimes "as being contained in the gospel" (pp. 112-122). According to Delitzsch (*Ein Tag in Kaper-naum*, p. 136), the meaning is: "Exchange the less valuable for the most valuable, esteem sacred coin higher than common coin, and highest of all the one precious pearl of the Gospel." Renan (*Vie de Jésus*, ch. XI, p. 180, 5th ed.) regards this saying as an advice of voluntary poverty. Westcott explains "put your talents to good use" (*Introd.* 4th ed., 1872, p. 459), but this explanation Ropes regards as unhappy, who believes that the meaning is: "We should distinguish between

good and bad coin." This is also Schaff's opinion, who, in quoting the sayings adds "i. e., expert in distinguishing the genuine coin from the counterfeit." Jackson says: "The saying may also serve to put in a reminder of the need of good business habits on the part of the clergy as well as the laity. The training of the ex-exciseman St. Matthew was no doubt exceedingly valuable in the apostolic college, and the symbolic representation of the first evangelist with an angel holding the implements of writing is suggestive of the duty of every would-be apostle and evangelist. The angel of the Lord proffers the ink-horn and the pen, and the Lord Himself says: "Learn how to use them. Do not suppose that you can use them properly by merely writing, or even meaning, to use them well. The process must be gradual. It is not *Be*, but *Become*, and get yourselves made, *good accountants, good bankers.*"

38. Again says the Lord: "He who has married shall not send her (the wife) forth; and he who has not married shall not marry; and who out of chastity has professed not to marry shall remain single."

Clem. Alex., *Stromata* III, 15, 97.

39. For it was not grudging that the Lord in a certain gospel announced: "My mystery for me and for the sons of my house."

Clem. Alex., *Stromata* V, 10, 64; *Clemen-*

tine Homilies XIX, 20. Theodoret on Ps. LXV, connects the saying with Matt. VII, 6, but evidently regards it as distinct: "Give not," He says, "the holy things to the dogs, nor cast your pearls before the swine; and my mysteries for Me and Mine." It is also quoted by Chrysostom (*Epp. ad Corinth. Hom. VII, 2*).

40. Therefore the Saviour says: "Save thyself and thy soul."

Clem. Alex., *Excerpta ex Theod.* 2.

41. Accordingly He leads us into the liberty of the Father, sons that are co-heirs and friends. For says the Lord: "They that do the will of MY Father are my brethren and fellow-heirs. Call no man, therefore, father to yourselves on earth. For it is masters that are on earth. But in heaven is the Father of whom is the whole family, both in heaven and on earth."

Clem. Alex., *Eclogæ prophet.* 20.

42. Being especially mindful of the words of the Lord Jesus which He spake, teaching us meekness and long-suffering. For thus He spake: "Be ye merciful, that ye may obtain mercy; forgive, that it may be forgiven to you; as ye do, so shall it be done unto you; as ye judge, so shall ye be judged; as ye are kind, so shall kindness be shown to you; with what

measure ye mete, with the same it shall be measured to you."

Clem. Roman. I, 13, 2.

43. For it is written: "Cleave to the saints, for those that cleave to them, shall be made holy."

Clem. Rom. I, 46, 2; see also Clem.

Alex., *Stromata* V, 8, 53.

44. For this reason, if we should do such things, the Lord hath said: "And though ye were gathered together to me in my very bosom, yet if ye were not to keep my commandments, I would cast you off, and say unto you, Depart from me: I know you not whence ye are, ye workers of iniquity."

Clem. Roman. II, 4, 5.

45. For the Lord saith: "Ye shall be as lambs in the midst of the wolves." And Peter answered and said unto Him: "What, then, if the wolves shall tear in pieces the lambs?" Jesus said unto Peter: "The lambs have no cause after they are dead to fear the wolves. And do you fear not those who kill you and can do nothing to you, but fear him, who, after you are dead hath power over soul and body, to cast men into hell-fire."

Clem. Roman. II, 5, 2-4.

46. The Lord saith in the Gospel: "If ye kept not that which is small, who will give you that which is great? For I say unto you, that he that is faithful in very little is faithful also in

much." He means accordingly: "keep the flesh holy and the seal undefiled, that ye may receive life."

Clem. Roman. II, 8, 5, 6.

To the first part of the Saying there is a parallel in Irenæus, *adv. hæc.* II, 34, 3, and in Hilarius *Epistola seu libellus* c. i. (ed. Oberthür, tom. IV, p. 7). Some writers consider the second part as a separate agraphon, so Resch (p. 171). But Schaff, Jackson, Klostermann, Preuschen, and also Ropes (though he speaks of each separately, No. 5, 24), regard it as an explanation and application of what has gone before.

47. And thus, as the true Prophet has told us: "A false prophet must first come from some deceiver, and then, in like manner, after the removal of the holy place, the true Gospel must be secretly sent abroad for the rectification of the heresies that shall be." And this, also, "towards the end Antichrist must first come, and then our Jesus must be revealed to be indeed the Christ, and after that, the eternal light having sprung up, all the things of darkness must disappear."

Clement. *Homilies.* II, 17. Ropes and Resch quote not the words following "Christ."

48. Therefore the true prophet Himself said: "I

am the gate of life; he who entereth through me, entereth into life."

Clem., Homilies III, 52.

50. Again He said: "I am He concerning whom Moses prophesied, saying: 'A prophet shall the Lord our God raise unto you of your brethren, like unto me. Hear him in all things; and whosoever will not hear that prophet shall die.'"

Clem. Homilies III, 53.

51. And to those who suppose that God tempts, as the Scriptures say, He said: "The tempter is the wicked one."

Clem. Homilies III, 55.

52. "Be of one mind in many bodies: let each man be minded to do to his neighbor those good things he wishes for himself."

Clem. Homilies VII, 4; com. also XI, 4: "Whatever good things anyone wishes for himself, so let him afford to another in need;" also XII, 32: In one word: "what he wishes for himself, he wishes also for his neighbor," comp. also Justin Dialog. cum. Tryph. c. 93.

53. "God made the heaven and the earth and all things which are therein," as the true prophet said to us.

Clem. Homilies X, 3.

54. For thus the prophet has sworn to us, saying: "Verily I say to you, unless ye be regenerated

by living water into the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, you shall not enter the Kingdom of heaven."

Clem. Homilies XI, 26.

55. The true Prophet said: "Good must needs come and blessed (said He) is he by whom it comes." In like manner also: "Evil must needs come, but woe to him through whom it comes."

Clem. Homilies XII, 29. In the Clementina Epitome prima c. 96, secunda c. 96 (ed. Dressel), the saying is introduced by: "Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God said;" compare above, also No. 18.

56. "Even if one should do all that is right and yet once committeth the sin of idolatry, he must be punished," said the prophet.

Clem. Homilies XIII, 14.

57. "For there shall be," as our Lord and Saviour said, "schisms and heresies."

Clem. Homilies XVI, 21. This saying is also found in Justin, *Dialog.* ch. 35; Didascalia VI, 5; Lactantius, *Div. Institut.* IV, 30; Didymus, *De Trinitate* III, 22.

58. And elsewhere He said: "He who sowed the bad seed is the devil;" and again: "Give no pretext to the evil one."

Clem. Homilies XIX, 2.

59. "There shall be with me, also, my twelve servants."

Cod. Askew., p. 215 (Woide in Append. ad ed. N. T. e. Cod. MS. Alexandrino); in *Pistis Sophia* (Germ. ed. by Schmidt), p. 148, we read: "Therefore I said to you once: 'Where I shall be, my twelve servants shall also be with me.'"

60. "I shall be 1,000 years, ruling according to the years of the light."

Cod. Askew., p. 225.

61. The disciples thus spake unto Jesus: "Thou art a key to every man, and the one who shutteth to every man."

Cod. Askew., p. 297.

62. The Lord who is good says: "Let not the sun go down upon your wrath."

Dialogus de recta fide, sect. I (Opp. Orig. I, 813), where it is quoted twice; once in the form as given, and once in the form: "And in the Gospel it is." In the *Vita Syncleticæ* 63 (Coteler., Eccl. Graec. Monum. I, p. 242), the saying is also quoted as a word of the Saviour; comp. also Didascalia (Achelis-Flemming translation, p. 65).

63. But also now concerning this, it hath been said: "Let thine alms sweat in thy hands until thou knowest to whom thou shouldest give."

Didaché I, 6. Schaff (Teaching of the XII Apostles, p. 167), calls this "a curious passage quoted as Scripture, from

oral tradition, or an unknown apocryphal book, or some living Prophet. A similar sentence, however, occurs in Ecclus. XII, 1-6. Assuming the reading of the manuscript, as amended by Bryennios, the sentence is a warning against indiscriminate and injudicious almsgiving, and shows that the author of the Didaché did not understand the command of the Sermon on the Mount in a strictly literal sense; otherwise he would contradict what he said in the preceding lines." Whatever the origin of this Logion, it is found very often. Besides in Cassiodorus mentioned above under 32, it is mentioned four times by Augustin (in Ps. CII, 12; Ps. CIII, serm. III; Ps. CXLVI, 17 (twice); Petrus Comestor, *Hist. Scholastica*, c. XV; Gregor. Magnus, *Regula Pastoralis* III, 20; Abælard., *De eleemosyna sermo* (opp. ed. Cousin. I, 552); Bernhardi, *Epist.* XLV; *Oracula Sibyllina* II, 78, 79; Piers the Plowman, *B. Passus* VII, 73-75. The texts are all given by Resch, pp. 91, 356.

64. Therefore I have also said in the Gospel: "Pray for your enemies, and blessed are they who mourn over the destruction of the unbelievers."

Didascalia V, 15, p. 315, ed. Lagarde.

65. And then He appeared also unto us. And He said unto us instructing us: "By no means are you to fast on these days for my sake, or have I need that you distress your soul?"

Syriac Didascalia, c. XXI, p. 107 (ed. Achelis-Flemming).

66. And our Lord said: "May they be forgiven." And again said the Lord concerning them: "My Father, they know not what they have done, nor what they say; if possible forgive them."

Syriac Didascalia, c. XXV, p. 127.

67. And He (i. e., Christ) said: "The last day shall come like a thief in the night."

Didymus, *de Trinitate* III, 22; Epiph., *Hæres.* LXIX, 44: "For like a robber in the night, so shall the day come." In *Ancor.* XXI, Epiphanius writes: "For He (i. e., the Son) says: 'Like a thief in the night shall that day come.'"

68. As He said: "I have chosen you before the earth was made."

Ephraem Syrus, *Evangelii Concordantis expositio* (ed. Mössinger), p. 50.

69. As Christ protected his sheep in all distress, He also comforted them in this solitude in the distress, saying: "I am with him who is alone," that those who are lonesome may not be distressed; for He is our joy and is with us. "And where there are two, I shall be with

them," for the mercy of His grace is a cover over us. "And when we are three," we meet so to say, as if in the congregation.

Ephraem Syr., *ibid.*, p. 165.

70. "But where the pains are, thither hasteneth the physician."

Ephraem Syr., *ibid.*, p. 200.

71. He therefore calls the peacemakers sons of God, as He also saith: "Those who walk in the Spirit of God, are the sons of God."

Ephraem Syr., *ibid.*, p. 63.

72. And that He was troubled agrees with that which He said: "How long shall I be with you and speak with you?" And in another place: "I am disgusted with that generation. They tempted Me," He said, "ten times, but these twenty times and ten times ten."

Ephraem Syr., *ibid.*, p. 203.

73. For he said: "He will cleanse the house of His Kingdom from every stumbling block."

Ephraem Syr., *ibid.*, p. 211.

74. "And blessed are they who have hungered and thirsted, for they shall be filled there. And woe unto them that are full, for they shall hunger and thirst there. And blessed are they that mourn and weep, for there they shall laugh and be comforted. And woe unto them that laugh now, for there they shall mourn and weep unceasingly. And blessed are the merciful, for there they shall obtain mercy.

And woe to those that are not merciful, for they shall not obtain mercy."

Ephraem Syr. Opp. I, 30, E. (ed. Assemani).

75. And again: "God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace unto the humble."

Ephraem Syr. Opp. III, 93, E.

76. "I am He that speaks in the prophets.")

Epiphan., *Hæres* XXIII, 5; XLI, 3; LXVI, 42; *Ancor.* LIII.

77. "The Father begat me," He said, "and I came forth from the Father, and I am here."

Epiphan., *ibid.*, LXIX, 53.

78. And again in another place: "I knock and if one open for me, we will come in to him, I and my Father, and make our abode with him."

Epiphan., *ibid.*, LXIX, 63.

79. He said that "he who knoweth Me knoweth the Father, and he who seeth Me has seen the Father."

Epiphan., *ibid.*, LXXVI, 6.

80. "The laborer is worthy of his hire, and sufficient unto him that laboreth is his food."

Epiphan., *ibid.*, LXXX, 5.

81. "Honor the demons, not that ye may be assisted by them, but that they may not injure you."

Euthymius Zigabenus, *Panoplia Dogmatica* tit. XXVII, 2, current among the Bogomiles. The dictum is claimed to be

written in the gospels as a word of the Lord.

82. Such is also the meaning of the Gospel: "there is a confusion which leads to death, and a confusion which leads to life."

Hieronymus in *Ezech.* XVII (Opp. III, p. 807, ed. Martianay); the same we also read in Hieron., *Epistola ad Pammachium* (IVb., p. 584).

83. Afterwards, Jesus appeared unto the eleven as they sat at meat, and upbraided them with their unbelief and hardness of heart, because they had not believed them which had seen Him arising. And they excused themselves to Him, saying: "This age of iniquity and unbelief is under the power of Satan, who by means of unclean spirits permitteth not the power of God to be perceived. For that reason, reveal now Thy righteousness."

Hieronymus, *adv. Pelagium* II, 15 (IV, p. 521).

84. Jesus, the living, answered and said to His disciples: "Blessed is he who is crucified unto the world and whom the world did not crucify."

The first book of Jeû (ed. Schmidt from the Coptic — together with Pistis Sophia in a German translation, 1905), p. 257.

85. For I know and believe that after His resurrection He lived in the flesh. For when the

Lord came to Peter and to the Apostles, He said to them: "Lay hold, handle Me, and see that I am not an incorporeal spirit." And immediately they touched Him, and believed, being both convinced by His flesh and spirit.

Ignatius, *ad Smyrn.* III, 1, 2; Pseudo-

Ignatius, *ad Smyrn.* III, p. 244, 14.

Ignatius, who cites these words, does not say whence he drew them; but Hieronymus (*De viris inlustribus* 16) informs us that they were taken from the Gospel of the Hebrews. In his commentary on Isaiah XVIII (preface), Jerome informs us that according to the Gospel which the Nazarenes call that of the Hebrews, the apostles believed Jesus to be "incorporale dæmonium." Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* III, 36, 11), remarks that he knows not whence the words of Ignatius were taken. Origen (*De prin.* I prooem. 8), speaks of a passage in that book which is called the "Doctrine of Peter," where the Saviour said to His disciples: "I am not an incorporeal demon (dæmonium incorporeum)," and adds that any one who quotes this is to be replied first that this writing belongs not to those received by the Church; then it is to be shown that it was written neither by Peter nor by any one who was inspired by the Spirit of God.

86. Also when He says: "I often desired to hear one of these words, and had not one to tell me," thus they assert that by "one" He meant

to designate the true God, whom they had not known.

Irenæus I, 20, 2 = Epiph., *Hæres.* 34, 18.

87. "Badly is gypsum mixed in the pure milk of God."

Irenæus III, 17, 4. In the *Muratorian Fragment*, line 67, we read: "For gall loth not mix well with honey." Without figure we read the same Pseudo-Ignatius, *ad Trall.* VI.: "Some one of the elders said: 'No one shall be called good who mixeth evil with the good'"; the same we also read in the ancient Latin version of Ignatius (ed. Lagarde, p. 9, 41).

88. As the elders relate, who saw John the disciple of the Lord, that they had heard from him how the Lord taught of those days and said:—"The days will come in which vines shall spring up, each bearing ten thousand stocks, and on each stock ten thousand branches, and on each branch ten thousand shoots, and on each shoot ten thousand bunches, and on each bunch ten thousand grapes, and each grape when pressed shall yield five and twenty measures of wine. And when any one of the Saints shall have caught hold of one bunch, another shall cry: 'Better bunch am I: take me: by means of me bless the Lord.' Likewise also a grain of wheat shall hold ten thousand ears of corn, and each ear shall hold ten thousand grains, and each grain ten pounds of simila

pure and clear; and so the rest of the fruits and seeds and each herb after its kind. And all animals using those foods that are got from the ground shall live in peace and concord, subject to man with all subjection." These things, Papias, who was a hearer of John and a companion of Polycarp, an ancient worthy, witnesseth in writing in the fourth of his books, for there are five books composed by him. And he added, saying: "But these things are credible to them that believe." And when Judas the traitor did not believe, and asked: "How shall such growth be accomplished by the Lord?" He relates that the Lord said: "They shall see who shall come to these (times)."

Irenæus V, 33, 3 sq.; Hippolytus, *Comm. in Daniele* IV, 60 (ed. Bonwetsch, p. 338), mentions also the conversation of Judas.

The passage in Irenæus is extant only in the Latin translation. "It is evident that this famous passage gives only a very imperfect representation of the discourse of the Lord to which it refers, for I think that it is certainly based on a real discourse. It must be observed that the narration is now only preserved in a Latin translation of a free quotation from Papias, who gave it on the authority of those who had heard St. John speaking of teaching of the Lord to such effect. The history of the

tradition is a sufficient explanation of the corruption which it has suffered." (Westcott, *Introduction to the study of the Gospels*, p. 450, Boston, 1867.) Ropes admits that Westcott's view cannot very well be refuted, although it is difficult to perceive at present the genuine matter. Schaff regards it as fabulous, and borrowed from the Apocalypse of Baruch. This is also the opinion of Schürer (*Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes*, vol. III (3d ed. 1898), p. 229. But this argument is not strong enough, as such descriptions are also found in rabbinic writings (see Schürer, l. c., vol. II, p. 541). The latest author on the Apocalypse of Baruch, R. H. Charles, thinks that both Papias or Irenæus and the author of the Apocalypse have perused the same original source (*Apocalypse of Baruch*, London, 1896, p. 54, note 5). Farrar (*Life of Jesus* I, p. 319 sq.), says: "If we could attach any importance to the strange story quoted by Irenæus, we should only see in it a marked instance of this playful and imaginative manner in speaking at unconstrained moments to the simplest and truest hearted of His followers. The words which have evidently been reflected and reported by various media through which they have reached us, may have been uttered in a sort of divine irony, as though they were a playful description of Messianic blessings to be fulfilled, not

in the hard Judaic sense, but in a truer and more spiritual sense." Shahan says: "This archaic and venerable fragment (viz., of Papias), of the preaching of Jesus appeals to us as a genuine 'Saying.' It is vouched for by witnesses very ancient and very holy. That they were Millenarians need not disturb us; who in those days would not have eagerly looked for a time of joyous respite from the flagellations that Christians were receiving from all the 'elements of the world'? We know now that such language is hyperbolical, like those 'hundred mothers' that we are to receive in Christ Jesus for the abandonment of an earthly mother (Mark X, 29, 30). The Abbate Ceriani, apropos of his edition (Milan, 1866), of a Syriac text known as 'the Apocalypse of Baruch,' which some place as early as A. D. 70 maintains that the origin of the 'Papias-Sayings' is referable to that period. Perhaps the emotions aroused by the complete destruction of the Holy City in that year, the absolute and rapid verification of the prophecy of Christ, the domestic belief concerning the Second Advent as due during the life of John (John XXI, 23), and the abundant apocalyptic literature that sprang into existence among the Jews as a balm for their broken hearts and shattered hopes, furnished the circumstances amid which arose many reminiscent conversa-

tions and humble writings about Jesus, due to men who had seen and known him. Of these Papias would be the last echo, delicate and faint, but true, like the roar of the surf borne far inland on the wings of night and breathing to mankind its pulsing message of elemental strife and life, but also the assurance of security behind an impregnable bulwark."

89. As his word says: "A share is allotted to all by the Father, according as each person is or shall be worthy."

Irenæus V, 36, 2.

90. And again He saith: "Blessed he who existed before the beginning of man."

Irenæus, *eis epideixin*, c. 43 (a treatise rediscovered in the Armenian).

91. He spoke thus: "I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance. For the heavenly Father desires rather the repentance of the sinner than his punishment."

Justin, *Apolog.* I, 15.

92. The new law wishes you to sabbatize always.

Justin, *Dial. with Trypho*, c. 12; see also Tertull., *adv. Judæos*, c. 4; Pseudo-Hieron., *Indiculus de hæresibus* (*Corpus hæresiologicum*, ed. Oehler, p. 283) writes: "The Masbotheans say that it was Christ Himself who taught those to sabbatize in everything."

93. For He said: "Many shall come in my name, clothed outwardly in sheep's clothing, but in-

wardly they are ravening wolves. And there shall be schisms and heresies."

Justin, *Dial.*, c. 35; see above No. 57.

94. For I know that the word of God said: "This great wisdom of the maker of all and almighty God shall be hidden from you."

Justin, *ibid.*, c. 38.

95. And our Lord Jesus Christ said: "In whatsoever things I may find you, in this will I also judge you."

Justin, *ibid.*, c. 47; Resch quotes eighteen other authors who have this logion (p. 322 sq.).

96. Wishing to show them this also, that it is not impossible for flesh to ascend into heaven as He had said "that our dwelling-place is in heaven." He was taken up into heaven while they beheld, as He was in the flesh.

Justin, *de resurrectione* 9. Klostermann writes Justin (?), Ropes, Pseudo (?) Justin, Resch believes in the authorship of Justin and against Bousset refers to Bonwetsch's article on Justin Martyr in Herzog RE, 3d ed. IX, 644.

97. Law and Logos the Saviour is called, as Peter says in the Kerygma (i. e., Preaching).

Kerygma Petri in Clement Alex., *Eclog. prophet.* LVIII. The same we also find by Clement in *Stromata* I, 29, 182; II, 15, 68. In the *Martyrium Petri*, c. 9 (p. 97, ed. Lipsius) and Pseudo-Linus, *Mar-*

tyrium Petri, c. 14 (p. 17, ed. Lipsius)
Christ is called by the Spirit "The word
and voice of God."

[Peter says in "the Preaching,"¹ that the best among the Greeks know God not according to his true meaning, but only in outlines. 'Know therefore that there is a God, who made the beginning of all and has power also over the end.' And 'the invisible who sees all, the incomprehensible, who comprehends everything; who has no need, yet whom all need and through whom everything is; incomprehensible, eternal, incorruptible, uncreated who has created all through the "word" of his power' (not that of the Gnostic writing), i. e., 'through His Son.'² He then continues: "This God you shall not worship after the manner of the Greeks." What he understands by "manner of the Greeks," Peter himself explains, when he continues: "Out of ignorance and because they did not know God like we by a perfect knowledge, over which he had given them the power, they made for their use stocks and stones, metal and iron, gold and silver, and by making use of their matter, they put up these servants of the true being (i. e.,

¹ For the benefit of the student we give all the "Remains of the Kerygma of Peter" that are extant, though the parts in [] do not exactly belong to the category of *agrapha*.

² Comp. to this: "for 'one is' indeed" God, "who created the beginning of all," as Peter writes, thinking of the first-born son, although he knew very well "in the beginning God made the heavens and the earth."

Clem. Alex. *Stromata* VI, 7, 58.

God), and worship (besides) what God gave them for food, the fowls of the air, the fish of the sea, the creeping things of the earth and the wild animals, together with the quadrupeds of the field, the weasel and mice, cats and dogs and apes, and their own victuals they sacrifice as offerings to edible animals, dead things they offer to the dead. And thus they are ungrateful to God, thereby denying his existence.¹ And that we and the Greeks indeed know the same God, only that He is not named in the same manner, these words may also be referred to "worship Him also not after the wise of the Jews; for they too imagine to know God alone, and yet know Him not; they serve angels and archangels, the month and the moon. And when the moon appears not, they celebrate not the so-called first Sabbath, observe not the new moon and the feast of unleavened breads, nor the Pentecost, nor the great day (of atonement)."

He then quotes the sentence from the alleged writing: "Therefore you also accept

¹ Here we may quote what Origen *Comment. in John XIII*, 17 says: It would lead too far to quote the words which Heracleon uses from the so-called "Preaching of Peter" and to inquire whether the writing is genuine or spurious, or is composed of genuine and spurious pieces. On this account I am satisfied to refer only to that part in which Peter is said to teach "that one should not worship God after the manner of the Greeks, by taking earthly things (as God) and worshipping wood and stones. They must also not worship God after the manner of the Jews, since they also who alone pretend to know God, do not know Him, and worship angels and the month and the moon."

piously and rightly what we transmit to you; be careful to worship God in a new way through Jesus Christ. For we find in the Scripture as the Lord says: 'Behold, I make for you a new covenant, not as I made it for your fathers at Mount Horeb.' A new one He made for us; the old one was that of the Greeks and Jews — ye Christians are those who as third generation worship Him in a new manner."

Kerygma Petri in Clem. Alex., *Stromata* VI, 5, 39-41.]

98. Therefore asserts Peter that the Lord said to the Apostles: "If any one of Israel should repent and by my name believe in God, his sins shall be forgiven him. After twelve years go forth into the world, that no one may say: 'We have not heard.'"

Kerygma in Clem. Alex., *Stromata* VI, 5, 43. From Apollonius Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. V, 18, 14) quotes: "He speaks moreover of a tradition that the Saviour commanded His apostles not to depart from Jerusalem for twelve years." In the Codex Askew. (Woide in Appendice ad edit. cod. Alex., p. 1), we read: "Jesus, after His ascension into heaven descended again to earth and for eleven years. He instructed His disciples in various mysteries and commanded Philip, Thomas and Matthæus that they put down

in writing His words and deeds which they have seen and heard during that space of time."

99. In the "Preaching of Peter" the Lord says to the disciples after the resurrection: "I have chosen you twelve disciples, judging you worthy of me, and whom I supposed to be faithful messengers, and sent you forth into the world to preach the Gospel to those living upon earth, that by believing on me they perceive that there is only one God and to reveal the future that those who hear it and believe it, be saved; those however, who believe not, must bear witness that they heard it and have no excuse to say: 'We have not heard it.'"

Kerygma in Clem. Alex., *Stromata* VI, 6, 48.

100. It has been said from the very first to all intelligent souls: "What one of you does in ignorance without knowing God well,—but when he knows him and repents all sins shall be forgiven him."

Kerygma, *ibid.*

[Hence Peter says in the "Preaching," when speaking of the apostles: "But when we opened the books of the Prophets, which we had at hand, in which they mention Jesus Christ, partly in parables, partly in enigmas, partly directly and in clear words, and found in them His coming and death, and the cross and all other torments which the Jews inflicted

upon Him, and His resurrection and ascension before the judgment over Jerusalem, how everything was written what He had to suffer and what shall be afterwards. Having perceived this we came to the belief in God on account of what the Scripture said concerning Him."

Kerygma in *Stromata* VI, 15, 128.

And a little further on he states that the prophecies originated through Divine Providence, alleging the following: "For we knew that God really commanded this and without (the testimony) of the Scripture we say nothing]."

Ibid.

101. (Jesus says): "I have come to you with a sign from your Lord: Out of clay will I make for you, as it were, the figure of a bird, and I will breathe into it, and it shall become, by God's leave, a bird. And I will heal the blind, and the leper; and by God's leave will I quicken the dead; and I will tell you what ye eat, and what ye store up in your houses! Truly in this will be a sign for you, if ye are believers."

Koran, *Sura* III, 43 (Rodwell's transl., p. 501). The first part reminds of the *Gospel of Thomas*, ch. 2; and *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy*, ch. 36, 46.

102. Remember when the apostles said — "O Jesus, son of Mary! is thy Lord able to send down a

furnished table to us out of heaven?" He said: "Fear God if ye be believers." They said: "We desire to eat therefrom, and to have our hearts assured; and to know that thou hast indeed spoken truth to us, and to be witnesses thereof." Jesus, Son of Mary, said: "O God, our Lord! Send down a table to us out of Heaven, that it may become a recurring festival to us, to the first of us and to the last of us, and a sign from Thee, and do Thou nourish us, for Thou art the best of Nourishers." And God said: "Verily, I will cause it to descend to you; but whoever among you after that shall disbelieve, I will surely chastise him with a chastisement, wherewith I will not chastise any other creature."

Koran, *Sura V*, 112-115 (Rodwell, p. 651), a reference is here evidently to the Eucharist.

103. And as Jesus, the Son of Mary, said: "O children of Israel! of a truth I am God's apostle to you to confirm the law which was given before me, and to announce an apostle that shall come after me whose name shall be Ahmad!" But when he (Ahmad) presented himself with clear proofs of his mission, they said: "This is manifest sorcery."

Koran, *Sura LXI*, 6 (Rodwell, p. 522).

104. (Jesus says): "And I have come to attest the law which was before me, and to allow you part of that which had been forbidden

you; and I come to you with a sign from your Lord: Fear God, then, and obey Me; of a truth God is my Lord, and your Lord: Therefore worship Him. This is a right way."

Koran, *Sura* III, 44, 45 (Rodwell, p. 501).

105. "O ye who believe! be helpers of God;" as said Jesus, the Son of Mary, to His apostles. "Who will come to the help of God?" "We," said the apostles, "will be the helpers of God." And a part of the children of Israel believed, and a part believed not. But to those who believed gave we the upperhand over their foes, and soon did they prove victorious.

Koran, *Sura* LXI, 14 (Rodwell, p. 523).

106. And when Jesus came with manifest proofs He said: "Now I am come to you with wisdom; and a part of those things about which ye are at variance I will clear up to you; fear ye God therefore and obey me. Verily, God is my Lord and your Lord; wherefore worship ye Him: this is a right way."

Koran, *Sura* XLIII, 63, 64 (Rodwell, p. 155).

107. Jesus, on Whom be peace, had said: "The world is but a bridge over which you must pass, but must not linger to build your dwelling."

Smith, *Life of Dr. Duff* II, 164. This agraphon Duff saw engraved on stone, in large characters in Arabic, inside the

chief gateway of a mosque at Sikri, about twenty-four miles to the west of Agra. It is possible that it belongs to the many sayings scattered in Muhammedan writings, some of which are collected by Levinus Warnerus *in notis ad. Centuriam Proverbiorum Persicorum*, proverb. 61, p. 30 sq. Lugd. Batav., 1644, and from which Hofmann, *Leben Jesu*, quotes the following:

108. Jesus, the Son of Mary, said: "He who is greedy of riches is like one who drinketh water from the sea. The more he drinketh, the more he increaseth his thirst; and he ceaseth not to drink until he perisheth."
109. Jesus said to John, the son of Zacharias: "If any one speaketh something true about thee, praise God; but if he uttereth lies about thee, praise God the more. For thereby shall thy treasure in the book of thy works be increased, and that without trouble to thee; that is to say, whatever of good that person hath done shall in thy book be written."
110. Jesus once said in the form of a parable, that the world is like a decrepit old woman of whom He asked: "How many husbands hast thou had?" Then answered she that she had had so many that they could not be numbered. And Jesus said: "Then, they died, and left thee?" "No indeed," said she, "I killed them, and put them out of the way." Then

said Jesus: "It is wonderful that the others were so foolish, that when they saw how thou hadst treated these, they burned with love towards thee, instead of taking example by them."

III. Now, in the time of Jesus, three persons were once traveling, and they found a treasure. Then they said: "We are an hungered, so let one of us go and buy food." Now, as one of them went to get the food, he said to himself: "It would be a good idea to poison the food, that the others may eat it and die, so that I alone may have the treasure." So he mingled poison with the food. But the two travelers who were left agreed between themselves that when he should bring the food they would kill him. So when he brought the poisoned food they killed him; but they themselves ate of it, and thereupon died. And, behold, Jesus passed by with his disciples, and said: "This is the way of the world! Ye see how it dealeth with these three; but it itself remaineth in its condition. Woe unto him who seeketh the world in the world."

II2. In the Gospel it is thus written: "O son of man, when I give you riches and power, ye transfer all your aspirations and all your care from me to the riches and power. But when I make you poor, ye grow weary for sadness and for anxious care. Where will ye find the

loveliness of my name, and when will ye bring to maturity reverence for Me?"

According to Hofmann from Musladini Sadi (13th cent.), *Gulistan sive Rosarii Persici*, c. 8, p. 517, who quotes it from a gospel.

113. Lead us not into temptation, which we cannot bear.

Liturgy of Alexandria (ed. Swainson), p. 6; so also in the *Syriac Liturgy of St. James* (ed. Swainson), p. 343.

114. Our Lord said unto John: "Come, baptize thou Me." And he said to Him: "It cannot be that I should commit robbery."

Liturgy of Severus (de ritibus baptismi liber, p. 25).

115. For he (the apostle) said: "The slothful shall not eat;" and in another place: "God also hates the slothful, and the slothful cannot believe;" and the wisdom said: "Slothfulness has taught much evil."

Macarius, *de oratione*, c. 10.

116. Moreover said the Lord to them: "What do you admire the signs? I give you a great inheritance which the whole world has not."

Macarius, *Homil.* XII, 17.

117. But hear the word of the Lord: "Take care of faith and hope, through which comes the God-loving and kindly love, which brings life everlasting."

Macarius, *Homil.* XXXVII, 1.

118. "Be ye strong in war and fight with the old serpent, and ye shall receive the eternal Kingdom," says the Lord.

Old English Homilies and homiletic treatises of the 12th and 13th cent., ed. by R. Morris (first series, part II, London, 1868, being No. 34 of the Early English Text Society, p. 151 sq., Sermon XVI; second series, 1873, No. 53, p. 185 sq., Sermon XXX); see also the *Play of the Sacrament*, p. 39. V. 864 (ed. W. Stokes for the Philological Society, Berlin, 1862). It is also found in the *Breviarium Romanum* (see *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* XVIII, 1894, p. 589).

119. "If the Son is mightier than God, and the Son of Man is Lord over Him, who else than the Son can be Lord over that God who is the ruler over all things?"

Origen *against Celsus* VIII, 15. According to Origen, Celsus quotes this from "A Heavenly Dialogue," now no more extant.

120. From some other form of heresy Celsus seems to have quoted: "How is it that so many go about the well, no one goes down into it?"

Origen, *ibid.* VIII, 16; in VIII, 15, it is also given as a quotation from "A Heavenly Dialogue."

121. "Why art thou afraid when thou hast gone so far on the way?"

Origen, *ibid.*, 15, 16.

122. "Thou art mistaken, for I lack neither courage nor weapons."

Origen, *ibid.*, 15, 16.

123. "Blessed is he who also fasts for this, that he might feed the poor."

Origen, *Homil. in Levit.* X, 2. Harnack, art. Apostel-lehre in Herzog R E, 3d. ed., p. 727, calls this an enigmatical saying.

124. And in the gospel it is written: "And wisdom sends forth her children."

Origen, *in Jerem. Homil.* XIV, 5.

125. For the Saviour Himself said: "He who is near me is near the fire, he who is far from me is far from the Kingdom."

Origen in *Jerem. Homil.* XX, 3 (extant in Jerome's Latin translation); the same we also find in Didymus of Alexandria on *Ps.* LXXXVIII, 8 (Mai, Nov. Bibl. VII, 2, 267). At the suggestion of Harnack, Resch would read "father" for "fire."

126. Jesus saith: "On account of them that are infirm, was I infirm, and on account of them that hunger did I hunger, and on account of them that thirst, did I thirst."

Origen *in Matth.* tom. XIII, 2. (Opp.

III, 573.) Klostermann suggests to read: "Jesus saith on account of the infirm: 'I was infirm' (Matt. XXV, 36), and on account of them that hunger: 'I did hunger.' (Matt. XXV, 35), and on account of them that thirst: 'I did thirst'" (Matt. XXV, 35). Resch objects to this mode of reading, which would deprive the saying of the character of an agraphon.

Jackson remarks (p. 35): "The Saying as given by Origen, states the final cause of the hungering, thirsting, and sickness of the Saviour to have been the help of the hungry, the thirsty, and the sick; primarily it may be understood of the hungry and thirsty for God and His righteousness, and of the weak for want of His strength. It will, however, include the idea of His coming to help sufferers from all human want and suffering, even the simplest and least elevated, not indeed that His salvation will save men from sickness, hunger and thirst, but it will enable them to suffer sickness, hunger and thirst, and all pain, with the thought of the Friend near and the rest beyond."

127. In the Acts of Paul a saying is written as spoken by the Lord: "From above (or again?) I am about to be crucified."

Origen in *Joann.* tom. XX, 12. This word is connected with the "Domine-quo-

vadis" story, found in the Passion of Paul and Peter, Peter fleeing from Rome to escape persecution, meets the Lord, and asks Him where He is going. The Lord replies: "I am going to Rome to be crucified again."

128. There is also another place which is called the middle of the world, where the Lord put His finger, saying: "This is the middle of the world."

Philippus, *descriptio terræ Sanctæ* (ed. W. Neumann in Oesterreichische Vierteljahrsschrift für Kathol. Theologie, 1872, p. 37). Besides this notice of Philippus, who lived about 1289, Resch quotes five other authorities containing this statement, p. 289 sq.

129. "Rejoice and be glad and add joy above your joy, for the times are fulfilled that I may put on my garment which is prepared for me from the beginning. . . . Rejoice and be glad, for you are blessed above all men on earth, because it is you who shall save the whole world."

Pistis Sophia, p. 9 (ed. Schmidt, Leipzig, 1905).

130. Therefore I said to you once: "You shall sit upon your thrones in My Kingdom to my right and to my left, and reign with Me."

Pistis Sophia, p. 148.

131. Wherefore I once said to you: "Where I shall be, my twelve servants shall also be with Me."

Ibid., p. 148; see above No. 59.

132. "That mystery I am and I am that mystery. I am they and they are I."

Ibid., p. 148.

133. On this account, therefore, I said once to you: "Renounce the whole world and the entire matter in it, that you gather not for you other matter to that which is already in you."

Ibid., p. 161.

134. Verily I say unto you: "Whosoever has quickened my soul and has preserved her apart from his light in the kingdom of light, will receive another glory in place of the soul which he has preserved."

Ibid., p. 172.

135. Therefore I once said to you: "Those mysteries shall not only forgive them their sins, which they have committed from the beginning, but they impute them not from that hour on, of which I have spoken to you."

Ibid., p. 200.

136. "Not rendering evil for evil, or railing for railing, or blow for blow, or cursing for cursing."

Polycarp to the *Philippians* II, 2; see also *Acta Philippi* in Anastasius Sinaita (Cotolerius, Monum. Eccl. Graec. III, p. 428).

137. The Lord Himself instructs and admonishes us in the epistle of His disciple John to the people: "You see Me thus in yourselves as one of you sees himself in the water or a mirror."

Pseudo-Cyprian, *de duobus montibus* XIII. The treatise *De duobus montibus* is said to belong to the oldest literature of the Latin Church. And in this an apocryphal epistle of John "ad populum" is mentioned. But what this epistle was which is claimed to have contained this saying we know not.

138. The Lord admonishes and says: "Grieve not the Holy Spirit which is in you, and do not extinguish the light which shines in you."

Pseudo-Cyprian, *de aleatoribus* 3.

139. "Whatsoever brother liveth in the manner of the aliens, and alloweth things like unto their deeds, refrain from being in his company, which, unless thou doest, thou also wilt be a partaker with him."

Pseudo-Cyprian, *de aleatoribus* 4.

140. He commanded to be watchful, circumspect and well-instructed, since that ancient enemy goeth about attacking the servants of God.

Pseudo-Cyprian, *ibid.*, 5.

141. "Woe unto those who do anything through their own presumption, and not through God."

Pseudo-Cyprian, *de singularitate clericorum*, c. 43.

142. "If any one does not work, let not such an one eat, for in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread," read the words.

Pseudo-Ignatius *to the Magnesians* IX, 3.

143. "No one shall be called good who mixeth evil with the good."

Pseudo-Ignatius *to the Trallians* VI;
so also the Ancient Latin Version, ed.
Lagarde, p. 9, 41.

144. And do ye also reverence your bishop as Christ Himself, according as the blessed apostles have enjoined you. He that is within the altar is pure, wherefore also he is obedient to the bishop and presbyters; but he that is without is one that does anything apart from the bishop, the presbyters, and the deacons. Such a person is defiled in his conscience, and is worse than an infidel.

Pseudo-Ignatius *to the Trallians* VII;
in the shorter form of Ignatius' epistle we read: "He that is within the sanctuary is pure, but he that is without is not pure;" that is, he who does anything apart from the bishop, and presbytery and deacons, such a man is not pure in his conscience.—It is probably an oversight that the text of the shorter form as given by Resch (p. 268), omits the last "not."

145. For the Lord has said in a mystery: "Unless ye make the right as the left, the left as the right, the top as the bottom, and the front

as the backward, ye shall not know the Kingdom of God."

Pseudo-Linus, *Martyrium Petri* (ed. Lipsius-Bonnet in *Acta Apost. Apocrypha* I (1891), p. 17).

146. Excepting a very few saints and illustrious ones: "men have thought to atone for their crimes with a few pieces of money," as one of them said.

Salvianus, *de gubernio* VII, 14. This is a fragment of a Latin hexameter verse taken from some old Christian poet (perhaps like Juvencus, d. 330).

147. "My friend, I do thee no wrong, thou hast received thine own in thy lifetime, take now what is thine and depart."

Sergius, the reformer of the Paulicians (died 835), who quotes this as a word of Christ, see Zahn, *Geschichte des Neutest. Kanons* II, 455.

148. The rabbis transmitted the following: When Rabbi Eliezer was seized on the charge of being a Christian, he was brought before the judge to be sentenced. The judge said to him: "Thou, an aged man, busy thyself with such idle matters?" Eliezer replied: "The Judge is just toward me." The judge thought that Eliezer meant him, whereas he thought of his Father in Heaven. The judge said: "Since I trust you, you are discharged." Upon returning home, his disciples came to

him, to comfort him, but he would not be comforted. Then said Rabbi Akiba to him: "Allow me to say something, which I have learned from thee." He replied: "Go on." Rabbi Akiba said: "Perhaps you did hear once of a heresy, which pleased thee, on which account thou hast been charged with heresy." Eliezer replied: "Akiba, thou just remindest me (of some thing). Once upon a time I was walking in the upper street of Sepphoris, when I met one of the disciples of the Nazarene Jesus, Jacob of Kefar Sekanya, who said to me: 'It is written in your law: "Thou shalt not bring the hire of a whore into the house of God. May a water-closet be made with it for the high priest?"' I knew not what to answer to this question. Whereupon he said to me: 'Jesus of Nazareth thus taught me: "She gathered it of the hire of an harlot and the hire of a harlot it shall become again (Mic. I, 7); it came from an impure source, and to an impure place it shall go again."' This exposition pleased me and on this account I was accused of heresy, because I transgressed the word of Scripture: 'Remove thy way far from her' (Prov. V, 8), i. e., from heresy.

Talmud, *Aboda Zarah*, fol. 16, col. 2; 17 col. 1; comp. also Midrash Koheleth (i. e., on Ecclesiastes I, 8). The authenticity of the narrative is defended by the

late Jewish scholar Derenbourg in "Es-sai sur l' histoire et la géographie de la Palestine," p. 357-360; Schürer in his review of Töttermann, *R. Eliezer ben Hyrcanos sive de vi qua doctrina Christiana primis sæculis illustrissimos quosdam Judæorum attraxit*, Lipsiae, 1877 (in "Theol. Literaturzeitung," 1877, col. 687-689), and in his *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes zur Zeit Jesu* II, 372 (Leipzig, 1898), regards the whole as a legend. Of the same opinion is the late Edersheim in his *Life and Times of Jesus, the Messiah* I, 527. But as conversations between Christians and Jews are mentioned in the Talmud, we see no reason why this narrative should be rejected. The Eliezer here mentioned, flourished between 90-120 A. D., when intercourse between Christians and Jews was of a frequent occurrence. The narrative is also quoted by Ropes and Klostermann.

149. Imma Salome, the wife of Rabbi Eliezer and sister of R. Gamaliel (II), had a philosopher in the neighborhood who was reputed for his integrity. They wished to have a laugh at him. So Imma brought him a golden candlestick, came before him and said: "I wish to have a portion of the property of my father." The philosopher said to them: "Divide." But she said to him: "We have the law:

‘Where there is the son, the daughter shall not inherit.’” He said to her: “From the day you were exiled from your land, the law of Moses is abrogated and the gospel given, in which it is said: ‘Son and daughter shall inherit alike.’” On the following day Gamaliel brought him a Libyan ass. He (the philosopher) said to them: “I examined the passage of the gospel referred to, and there it is written: ‘I, Gospel, came not to take away from you the Law of Moses, but I came to add to the Law of Moses.’ It is written in the Law of Moses: ‘Where there is a son, the daughter shall not inherit.’” Imma said to him: “May thy light shine like the candlestick.” Rabbi Gamaliel said: “The ass has come and knocked down the candlestick.”

Talmud, *Shabbath*, fol. 116, col. 1, 2.

150. “Watch and pray,” He says, “lest ye fall into temptation . . . for withal the word had gone before that no one untempted should attain the celestial Kingdom.”

Tertullian, *de Captis.*, c. 20. This saying is also found by different writers.

151. There are they of whom the Scripture says: “Woe unto those who join together their offences as with a long rope.”

Tertull., *de pœnit.*, c. 11.

152. The word of the gospel which reads: “For the fashion of this world passeth away.”

Theod. Balsamo, *Epistola de Rasa-*

phoris. (Migne, Patr. Graeca tom. CXXXVIII, 1373).

153. This is also one of the traditions of Christ that one should care for those things which are necessary for the body, and be anxious about nothing further save virtue.

Theodotus Monachus, *Catena on Matt.* in Fabricius Codex Apocr. N. T. III, p. 522.

154. For the Lord Christ said (to Peter): "Verily thine eye shall never be closed in eternity for the light of this world."

Vita Schnudi (an Egyptian monk of the 5th cent.), p. 313, of Amelineau's Arabic text; Germ. transl. by Iselin in *Texte und Untersuchungen XIII*, 1, p. 26.

XIV. APPENDIX.

I. REMAINS OF THE APOCALYPSE OF PETER.

A. *Patristic Notes.*

In the oldest list of sacred writings, in the so-called *Muratorian Fragment* of the second century, we read: "The apocalypses also of John and Peter only do we receive, which (latter) some among us would not have read in church." But before this mention Clement of Alexandria in his *Hypotyposes*, according to the testimony of Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* VI,

14), gave "abridged accounts of all the canonical Scriptures, not even omitting those that are disputed, I mean the book of Jude and the other general epistles; also the Epistle of Barnabas and that called the Revelation of Peter." Also in his *Eclogæ Propheticae* (chaps. 41, 48, 49), Clement gives some quotations from the Revelation of Peter, mentioning it twice by name (see below).

Methodius, bishop of Olympus in Lydia, who died as martyr in 311, in his *Symposium*, II, 6, says: "Wherefore we have also learned from divinely inspired Scriptures that untimely births, even if they are the offspring of adultery are delivered to care-taking angels." Though Peter is not here mentioned, the purport of the passage is the same as that of one of the quotations given by Clement.

Eusebius (d. 339 A. D.), in his *Ecclesiastical History* III, 25, expressly mentions the Revelation of Peter along with the Acts of Paul and the Pastor of Hermas as spurious books, while in III, 3, he says: "As to that which is called the 'Preaching' and that called the 'Apocalypse of Peter,' we know nothing of their being handed down as catholic writings. Since neither among the ancients nor among the ecclesiastical writers of our own day has there been anyone that has appealed to testimony taken from them."

Macarius Magnes in his *Apocritica* IV, 6,

quotes about the year 400, as from a heathen opponent of Christianity the following: "Let us by way of superfluity cite also that saying in the Apocalypse of Peter," etc., and at IV, 16, he examines this passage again, naming the Revelation of Peter, and supporting the doctrine of the passage by authority of prophecy and the gospel.

In the *Catalogus Claromontanus*, written in the sixth century, the oldest Græco-Latin Manuscript of the Pauline epistles, the Revelation of Peter stands at the end, after the Shepherd of Hermas and the Acts of Paul, whereas in the *Stichometry of Nicephorus* it stands among the "antilegomena," or disputed writings, of the New Testament. The list also gives the length of the Revelation, viz.: "Catalogus Claromontanus 270 stichoi, and the Stichometry thirty more."

This was all that was known of the Revelation of Peter till the year 1886, when a fragment of the Revelation was discovered by the French Archæological Mission in an ancient burying place at Akhmin, in Upper Egypt. It was published by Bouriant in *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire*, Paris, 1892, and represents probably about the half of the entire work. It begins in the middle of an eschatological discourse of Jesus, probably represented as delivered after the resurrection, for

verse five implies that the disciples had begun to preach the gospel. It ends abruptly in the course of a catalogue of sinners in hell and their punishments. It is possible that the fragments preserved by Clement of Alexandria and Methodius may have been part of the end of the book, whereas the fragments preserved by Macarius may have belonged to the eschatological discourse at the beginning. But be it as it may, the Revelation of Peter now accessible in Harnack's, Preuschen's and Klostermann's editions of the text, "affords the earliest embodiment in Christian literature of those pictorial presentations of heaven and hell which have exercised so widespread and enduring an influence. It has, in its imagery, little or no kinship with the Book of Daniel, the Book of Enoch, or the Revelation of St. John. Its only parallels in canonical scripture, with the notable exception of the Second Epistle of Peter, are to be found in Isa. LXVI, 24; Mark IX, 44, 48 and the parable of Dives and Lazarus in Luke XVI. It is indeed Judaic in the severity of its morality and even in its phraseology."

B. REMAINS.

A. *The Fragment of Akhmîn.*

Many of them will be false prophets, and will teach divers ways and doctrines of perdi-

- tion. 2. But these will become sons of perdition. 3. And then God will come unto my faithful ones who hunger and thirst and are afflicted and purify their souls in this life, and he will judge the sons of lawlessness.
4. And furthermore the Lord said: "Let us go into the mountain, let us pray." 5. And going with him, we, the twelve disciples, asked that he would show us one of our brethren, the righteous who are gone forth out of the world, that we might see of what manner of form they are, and having taken courage, might also encourage the men that hear us.
6. And as we prayed, suddenly there appeared two men standing before the Lord on whom we were not able to look. 7. For there came forth from their countenance a ray as of the sun, and their raiment was shining, such as eye of man never saw; for no mouth is able to express or heart to conceive the glory with which they were endued, and the beauty of their appearance. 8. As we looked upon them we were astounded; for their bodies were whiter than any snow and ruddier than any rose. 9. And the red thereof was mingled with the white, and I am utterly unable to express their beauty. 10. For their hair was curly and bright and seemly both on their face and shoulders as it were a wreath woven of spikenard and divers-colored flowers, or like a rainbow in the sky; such was their seemli-

- ness. 11. Seeing therefore their beauty we became astounded at them, because they appeared suddenly. 12. And approaching the Lord, I said: "Who are these?" 13. He saith to me: "These are our (other reading "your") brethren the righteous, whose forms ye desired to see." 14. And I said to him: "And where are all the righteous or what is the æon in which they are having this glory?" 15. And the Lord showed me a very great country outside of this world, exceeding bright with light, and the air was lighted with the rays of the sun, and the earth itself blooming with unfading flowers and full of spices and plants, fair-flowering and incorruptible and bearing blessed fruit. 16. And so great was the perfume that its odor was borne thence even unto us.
17. And the inhabitants of that place were clad in the raiment of shining angels and their raiment was like unto their country. 18. And angels hovered about them there. 19. And the glory of the inhabitants there was alike, and with one voice they sang praises alternately to the Lord God, rejoicing in that place. 20. The Lord saith to us: "This is the place of your high-priests, the righteous men."
21. And I saw another place over against that, very dark; and it was the place of punishment; and those who were punished there and the punishing angels had a dark raiment like the

- air of the place. 22. And some were there hanging by the tongue: these were those who blasphemed the way of righteousness, and under them was fire burning and punishing them.
23. And there was a great lake, full of flaming mire, in which were certain men who had perverted righteousness and tormenting angels afflicted them.
24. And there were also others, women, hanging by their hair over that mire that bubbled up; and these were they which adorned themselves for adultery; and they who had mingled with them in the defilement of adultery, were hanging by the feet and had their heads hidden in the mire, and said: "We did not believe to come into this place."
25. And I saw the murderers and those who conspired with them, cast into a certain strait place, full of evil vermins, and they were bitten by those beasts, and they turned to and fro in that punishment. And worms afflicted them as dark clouds. And the souls of the murdered stood by and looked upon the punishment of these murderers and said: "O God, thy judgment is just."
26. And near that place I saw another strait place into which the gore and the filth of those who were being punished ran down and became there as it were a lake. And here sat women having the gore up to their necks, and over against them sat many children who were born

out of due time and cried. And there came forth from them sparks of fire and smote the women in the eyes. These were they which conceived without being married and caused abortion.

27. And other men and women were burning up to the middle and were cast into a dark place and were beaten by evil spirits, and their inwards were eaten by restless worms. These were they who persecuted the righteous and delivered them up.
28. And near by them were again women and men gnawing their own lips and being punished and carried in their eyes a red-hot iron. They were those who blasphemed and spoke evil of the way of righteousness.
29. And over against these again other men and women gnawing their tongues and having flaming fire in their mouths. And these were the false witnesses.
30. And in a certain other place there were pebbles sharper than swords or any spit, red-hot, and women and men in tattered and filthy raiment rolled about on them in punishment, and these were the rich who trusted in their riches, and had no pity for orphans and widows, but despised the commandment of God.
31. And in another great lake, full of matter and blood and mire bubbling up stood men and women up to their knees. These were the

usurers and those that take interest on interest.

32. And other men and women were being hurled down from a great cliff and reached the bottom, and again were driven by those who were set over them to climb up upon the cliff and thence were hurled down again, and had no rest from this punishment. And these were they who defiled their bodies acting as women; and the women which were with them were those who lay with one another as a man with a woman.
33. And alongside of that cliff there was a place full of much fire, and there stood men who with their own hands had made for themselves carven images instead of God. And alongside of these were other men and women having rods of fire and striking each other and never ceasing from such punishment. . . .
34. And others again near them, women and men, burning and turning themselves and roasting. And these were they who had left the way of God. . . .

B. The Other Fragments.

1. The Scripture says that infants that have been exposed are delivered to a care-taking angel, by whom they are educated and so grow up, "and they will be," it says, "as the faithful of a hundred years old are here." Hence

Peter also says in the Revelation, "and there came forth from those children sparks of fire and smote the women in the eyes."

Clem. Alex., *Eclog. proph.* XLI.

2. For instance, Peter in the Apocalypse, says "that the children who are born out of due time shall be of the better part: and that these are delivered over to a care-taking angel, that they may attain a share of knowledge and gain the better abode after suffering what they would have suffered if they had been in this body; but the others shall merely obtain salvation as injured beings to whom mercy is shown, and remain without punishment, receiving this as a reward. But the milk of the women running down from their breasts and congealing," says Peter, in the Apocalypse, "shall engender small flesh-eating beasts, and these run up upon them and devour them." Peter teaches by this, that this punishment is because of the sins.

Clem. Alex., *Eclog.* XLVIII seq.

3. Whence also we have received in divinely inspired Scriptures that untimely births are delivered to care-taking angels, even if they are the offspring of adultery. For if they were born contrary to the meaning and the order of that blessed nature of God, how could he then deliver them to the angels, that they might enjoy the greatest rest and comfort? How would they otherwise openly bring their

parents before the judgment of Christ, accusing them and saying: "Thou hast not, O Lord, enviously withheld from us this common light; but these, disregarding thy commandment, have exposed us, that we had to die."

Methodius, *Symposium* II, 6.

4. Over and above let this also yet be added, what is read in the Apocalypse of Peter. He introduces the judgment over heaven and earth with the following words: "The earth shall present all men before God at the day of judgment, being itself also to be judged, with the heaven also which encompasses it."

The heathen (Porphyry?) by Macarius
Magnes, *Apocritica* IV, 6, 16.

5. And he also says the word which is wholly wicked: "And all power of heaven shall melt and the heaven shall be rolled up like a book, and all stars shall fall down as the leaves from the vine and as the leaves fall from the fig-tree."

Ibid. IV, 7.

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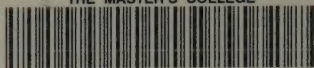
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